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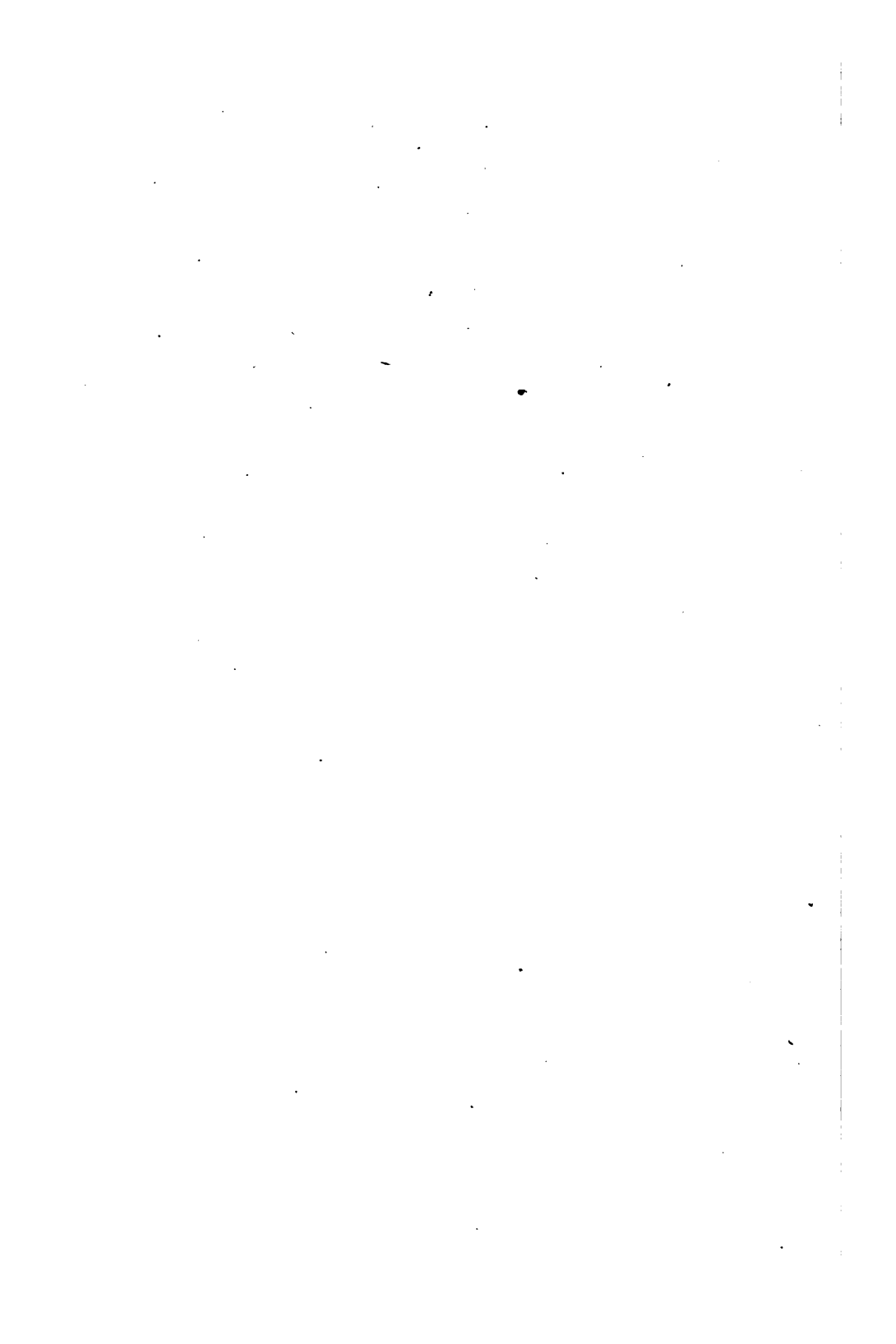


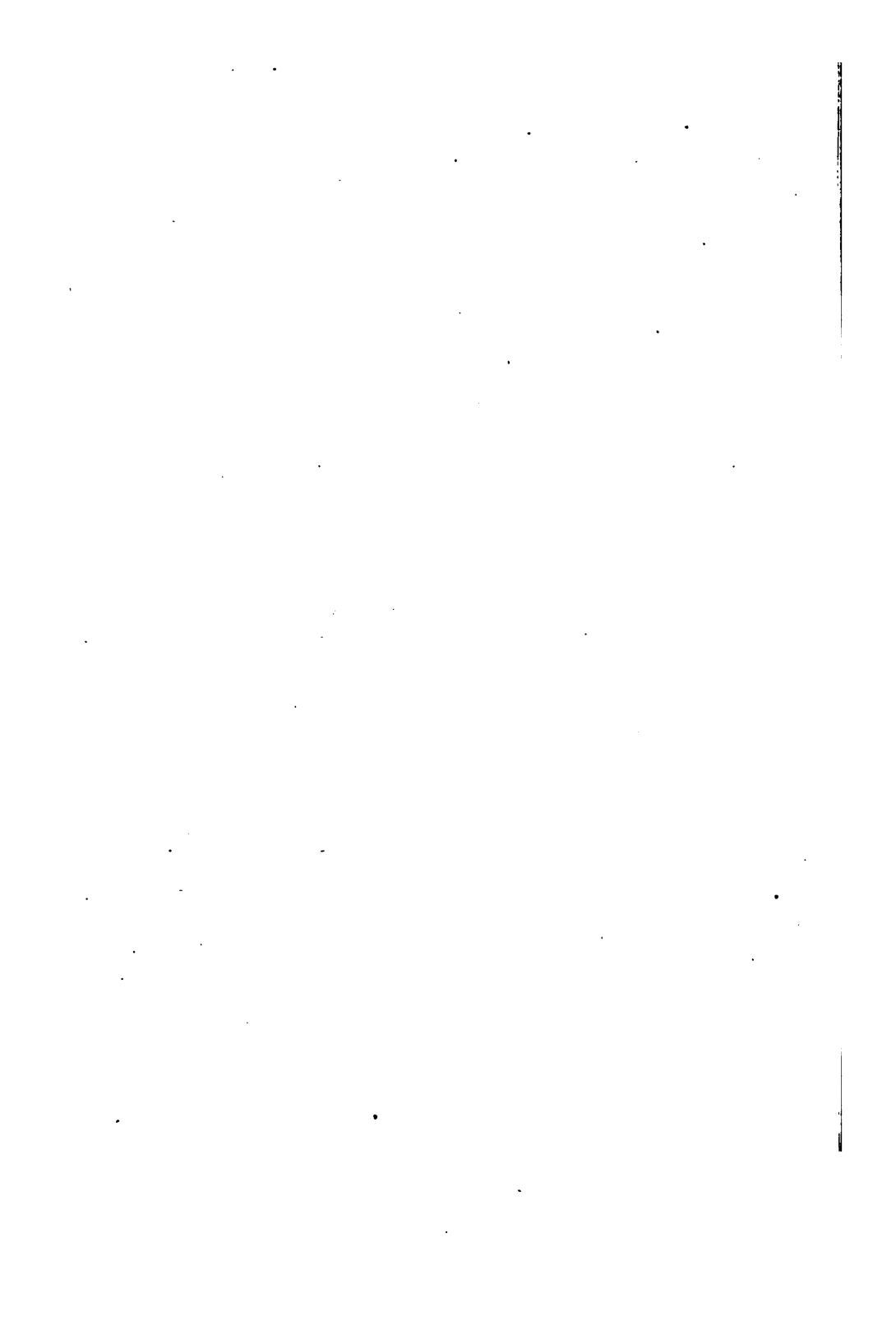
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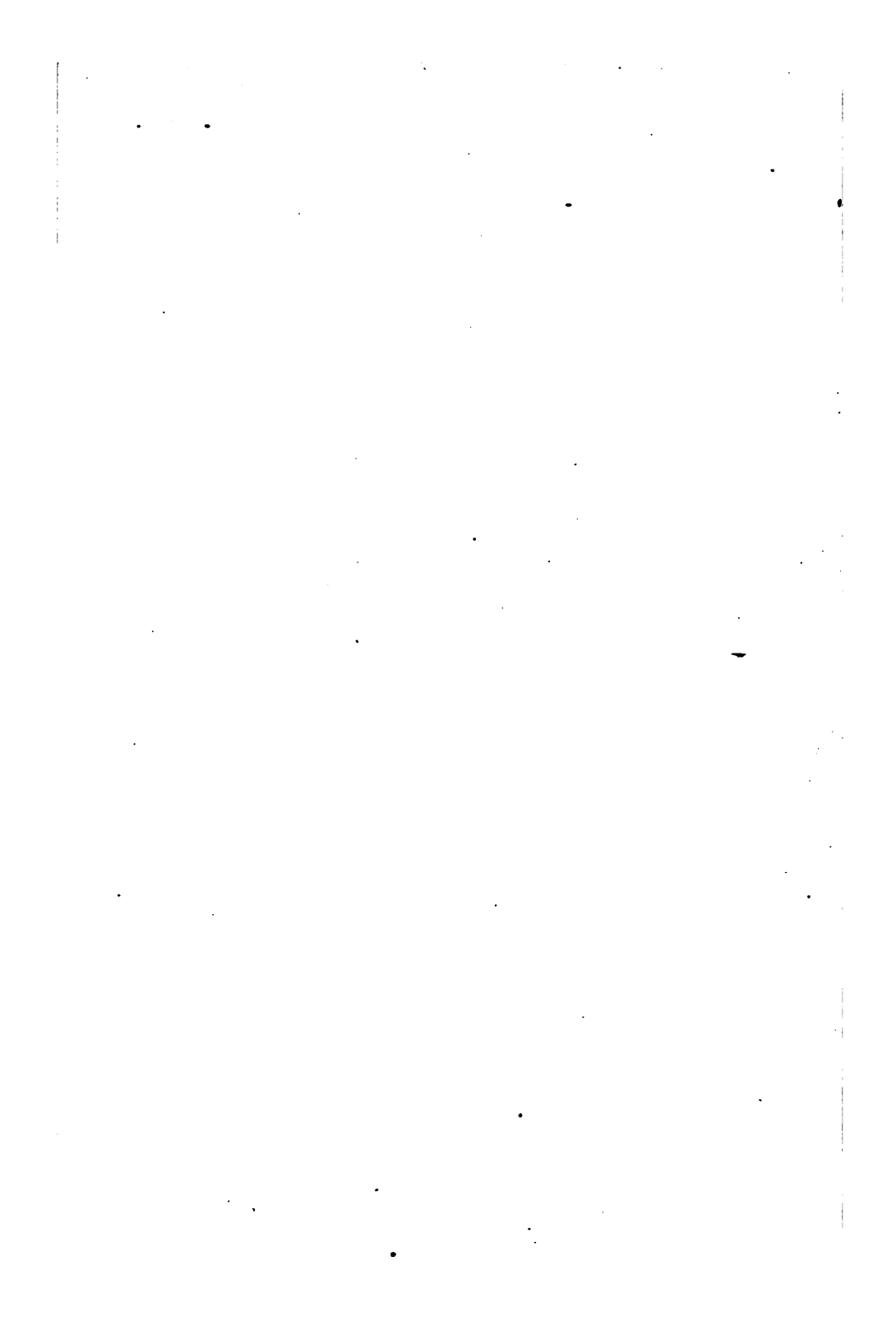
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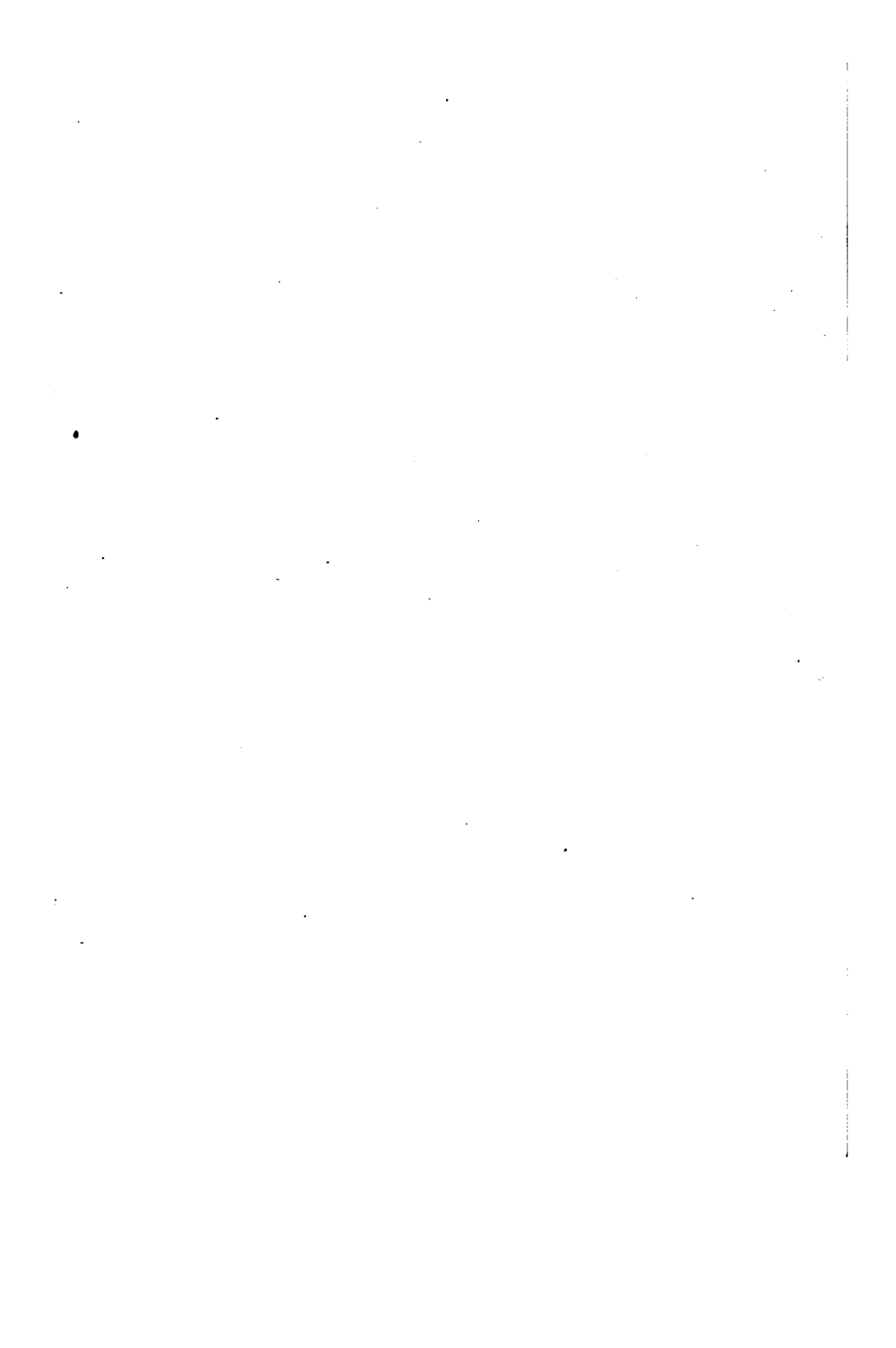














# A FAMILIAR EPISTLE

TO

ROBERT J. WALKER.

Dupl. 9314, 46

Tracts by R. J. Walker, 9314, 31

# A FAMILIAR EPISTLE

TO

*James*  
ROBERT J. WALKER,

FORMERLY OF PENNSYLVANIA, LATER OF MISSISSIPPI, MORE  
RECENTLY OF WASHINGTON, AND LAST HEARD OF  
IN MR. COXWELL'S BALLOON.

FROM

AN OLD ACQUAINTANCE. . . *See Rev.*

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

—"Ridentem dicere verum  
Quid vetat?"—HORACE.



FIFTH THOUSAND.

LONDON:  
SAUNDERS, OTLEY, AND CO.,  
66, BROOK STREET, HANOVER SQUARE.  
1863.

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9314.26

U.S. 5480.955

1866, April 27.

Gift of

Hon. Chas. Francis Adams,  
of London.

(H. C. 1825.)

"The avowed object of this party is the immediate abolition of Slavery. For this they traverse sea and land, for this they hold conventions in the capital of England, and there they brood over schemes of abolition in association with British Societies. There they join in denunciations of their countrymen, until their hearts are filled with treason, and they return home Americans in name but Englishmen in feelings and principles. Let us all then feel and know, whether we live North or South, that *this party*, if not vanquished, *must overthrow the Government and dissolve the Union.*"—Extract from Letter of Hon. R. J. WALKER, Jan. 8th, 1844, in favour of Annexation of Texas.

"If my voice could reach even the Black Republican party, I would say, Re-assemble your convention, re-nominate your candidates if you please, elect them if you can, take all the spoils, *but tear down your African platform ere you endorse it at the polls, and give to the South a perfect justification for withdrawing from the Union.*"—ROBERT J. WALKER in 1856.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH  
OF  
ROBERT J. WALKER.

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It is a trite remark that "the world never knows its greatest men." The word "Walker," being familiar to London ears only as a cant term employed by vulgar little boys to express incredulity, it may be proper to preface the reply to some letters lately addressed by a person of that name to the British public, by a slight sketch of his past history.

Robert J. Walker was once a man of mark in America, and has held some, if not all, of the titles which, with Republican simplicity, he affixes to his name. He is about as old as the century. Born and educated in Pennsylvania, after a futile attempt to obtain public office and position in his native State, he migrated to Mississippi, then almost a wilderness, with but 55,000 inhabitants. Here the shrewd and plausible young Yankee pushed himself rapidly forward to fortune and place, till at last the highest honour the State could confer was given him, in 1836. He was then made one of her senators in Congress, in which post he remained until 1845, thus filling that position at the



very period of the act of Repudiation by his two States, (native and adopted), and before his successor in the Senate, Jefferson Davis, had entered public life. Mr. Walker was then, and for twenty years afterwards, a most "ultra-Southern" man in his sentiments, or at least in his speeches; including the most violent advocacy of State rights and Slavery. In fact, like most men of Northern birth domiciled in the South, he out-heroded Herod in his violent affection for Southern doctrines and interests; and on this account, when the Southern administration of Mr. Polk came into power, a seat in his Cabinet was accorded to Mr. Walker.

On the 3rd March, 1845, he left the Senate, and took the post of Secretary of the Treasury—not "Minister of Finance," as he terms himself; for that office does not exist in the United States, and its duties are performed by the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the House of Representatives, not by the Secretary of the Treasury. He supported warmly the measures and principles of the Southern party while in the Senate and during his term of office, and here ends the most respectable part of his career. He never returned to Mississippi; but after 1845 lived chiefly in Washington and New York, professing to practise law in the Supreme Court, but really occupied in various speculations; his ideas, unlike his stature, being on the largest scale.

Jefferson Davis succeeded him in the Senate, and

years after, when he had been almost forgotten as a public man, Robert J. Walker made a brief reappearance in public life, through the friendly suggestion of the man he now defames. President Pierce, in 1856, first nominated him "Commissioner to China," a title he now assumes, but on the duties of which he never entered, as he resigned his commission immediately. Mr. Buchanan, desirous of being useful to him (it is said at Mr. Davis's suggestion), appointed him Governor of the Territory of Kansas. This office Mr. Walker held only one year, Mr. Buchanan having been compelled to withdraw him in consequence of his abandonment of the policy and principles of the Administration, and his management of that territory, then in a state of revolution. On his first arrival there, Mr. Walker's despatches denounced as "a band of disorganisers and revolutionists" the very men and the very party whom he afterwards joined; and from that hour he has been the sworn foe of the friends, political associates, and principles of his whole previous life: for Robert J. Walker was the first to insist on the recognition of Texas as a Slave State, and for the benefit of the Slave States, a "shrieker" then, not for "Union," but for "strict State Rights;" a denouncer of Abolitionists and Englishmen, whom he placed in the same category; himself a slave-owner and an able defender of that "institution"—in fact, the very reverse, in practice and in profession, of all he now presumes to preach to the people of England.

We must pay the tribute of involuntary respect to the courage of the ruthless Danton, though we shudder at his crimes ; but we have only contemptuous pity for " Joseph Surface," fine as his " sentiments" may be ; and it cannot be doubted that the British public will reiterate the honest execration of Sir Peter Teazle to the present Joseph—

" D—N YOUR SENTIMENTS !"

#### HIS POLITICAL RECORD.

From a most valuable work, recently published by George M'Henry, of Pennsylvania, on the Cotton Trade, and collateral topics,\* we extract the following items regarding the political antecedents of Mr. Walker :—

#### HIS POLITICAL CAREER.

Mr. Walker, in the whole course of his career in Mississippi, in Congress, and indeed up to the year 1858, was a strong State Rights man, with extreme Southern sentiments. He began as early as 1826 to " agitate" the annexation of Texas, repudiating the Treaty of 1819 with Spain, and with persevering energy accomplished his wishes. It was not, however, until March 3, 1836, that Texas " seceded" from the Mexican Union. This act was followed by the Battle

\* The Cotton Trade : Its Bearing upon the Prosperity of Great Britain and the American Republics, &c. &c. By George M'Henry. London : Saunders, Otley, & Co. 1863.

of San Jacinto on April 21, 1836, in which Santa Anna was taken prisoner, and on May 20, 1836, the Mexican Government passed a decree annulling all stipulations made between him and the "rebels."

Mr. Walker having opposed, on March 2, 1839, the pretensions of England concerning the Maine boundary question, and likewise having taken part, on February 16, 1843, against the assumption by the Federal Government of the State debts, which idea he charged as being of "British origin," combined with his actions in regard to Texas, made him quite popular throughout the Union; and in October 1843, he was put forward by the Democrats of his own State as an eligible candidate for the Vice-Presidency. On November 25, 1843, he was addressed by a number of the citizens of Kentucky, who requested his views on the topics of the day. His reply, dated January 8, 1844, was very long, extracts from which are subjoined, as noticed above. This letter, although Mr. Dallas was selected by the National Democratic Convention as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, was used as an electioneering pamphlet, and induced Mr. Polk to invite Mr. Walker to a seat in his Cabinet.

#### HIS OPINION OF ENGLISH ABOLITIONISTS.

*Extract from a Letter of the Hon. Robert J. Walker, January 8, 1844,  
in favour of the Annexation of Texas.*

"The only remaining objection is the question of Slavery. And have we a question which is to curtail the limits of the Republic—to threaten its existence—to aim a deadly blow at all its great and vital interests—to

court alliances with foreign and hostile powers—to recal our commerce and expel our manufactures from bays and rivers that once were all our own—to strike down the flag of the Union, as it advances towards our ancient boundary—to surrender a mighty Territory, and *invite to its occupancy the deadliest (in truth, the only) foes this Government has ever encountered?* Is anti-slavery to do all this? And is it so to endanger New Orleans, and the Valley and commerce and outlet of the West, that we would hold them, not by our own strength, but by the slender tenure of the will and of the mercy of Great Britain? If anti-slavery can effect all this, may God, in His infinite mercy, save and perpetuate this Union—for the efforts of man would be feeble and impotent. *The avowed object of this party is the immediate abolition of slavery. For this they traverse sea and land; for this they hold conventions in the capital of England; and there they brood over schemes of abolition in association with British Societies; there they join in denunciations of their countrymen until their hearts are filled with treason; and they return home, Americans in name, but Englishmen in feelings and principles.* Let us all, then, feel and know, whether we live North or South, that this party, if not vanquished, must overthrow the Government and dissolve the Union. This party propose the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the Union. If this were practicable, let us look at the consequences; by the returns of the slaveholding States, in 1840, amounting in value to 404,429,368 dols. These products, then, of the South must have alone enabled it to furnish a home market for all the surplus manufactures of the North, as also a market for the product of its forests and fisheries—and giving a mighty impulse to all its commercial and navigating interests. Now, nearly all these agricultural products of the South which accomplish all these great purposes, is the result of slave-labour; and, strike down these products by the immediate abolition of slavery, and the markets of the South, for want of the means of purchase, will be lost to the people of the North; and North and South will be involved in one common ruin. Yes, in the harbours of the North (at Philadelphia, New York, and Boston) the vessels would rot at their wharves for want of exchangeable products to carry; the building of ships would cease, and the grass would grow in many a street now enlivened by an active and progressive industry. In the interior, the railroads and canals would languish for want of business; and the factories and manufacturing towns and cities, decaying and deserted, would stand as blasted monuments of the folly of man. One universal bankruptcy would overspread the country, together with all the demoralisation and crime which ever accompany such a catastrophe; and the notices at every corner would point only to sales on execution, by the constable, the sheriff, the marshal, and the auctioneer; whilst

the beggars would ask us in the streets, not for money, but for bread. Dark as the picture may be, it could not exceed the gloomy reality. Such would be the effects in the North, whilst in the South no human heart can conceive, nor pen describe, the dreadful consequences. Let us look at another result to the North. The slaves being emancipated, not by the South, but by the North, would fly there for safety and protection; and three millions of free blacks would be thrown at once, as if by a convulsion of nature, upon the States of the North. They would come there, to their friends of the North who had given them freedom, to give them also habitation, food, and clothing; and not having it to give, many of them would perish from want and exposure; whilst the wretched remainder would be left to live as they could, by theft or charity; they would still be a degraded caste, free only in name, without the reality of freedom. A few might earn a wretched and precarious subsistence by competing with the white labourers of the North, and reducing their wages to the lowest point in the sliding scale of starvation and misery; whilst the poor-house and the jail, the asylums of the deaf and dumb, the blind, the idiot, and insane, would be filled to overflowing, if indeed any asylum could be afforded to the millions of the negro race whom wretchedness and crime would drive to despair and madness."

Jefferson Davis having been selected as Secretary of War by President Pierce, entered upon the duties of that office March 4, 1853. Through his influence in the Cabinet, Mr. Walker was appointed Commissioner to China. He received his outfit, but did not enter upon the mission, and returned the amount advanced him by the Government for that purpose. At Mr. Davis's request, President Buchanan selected Mr. Walker for the Governorship of the Territory of Kansas, and on May 25, 1857, he delivered his address to the people of that district, which had become infested by a band of Abolitionists from Massachusetts.

Governor Walker, in his first despatch to the

Federal Secretary of State, under date of June 2, 1857, alluded to the efforts of the Abolitionists to disregard the law ; and on the 14th he called for troops to defend the Territory from their actions. The next day, July 15, he writes that,—

“ This movement at Lawrence was the beginning  
 “ of a plan, originating in that city, to organize insur-  
 “ rection throughout the Territory ; and especially in  
 “ all towns, cities, or counties where the Republican  
 “ party have a majority. Lawrence is the hotbed of  
 “ all the Abolition movements in the Territory. It is  
 “ the town established by the Abolition Societies of  
 “ the East, and whilst there are respectable people  
 “ there, it is filled by a considerable number of mer-  
 “ cenaries, who are paid by Abolition Societies to  
 “ perpetuate and diffuse agitation throughout Kansas,  
 “ and prevent a peaceful settlement of this question.  
 “ Having failed in inducing their own so called To-  
 “ peka State Legislature to organize this insurrection,  
 “ Lawrence has committed it herself, and, if not ar-  
 “ rested, the rebellion will extend throughout the  
 “ Territory. . . . In order to send this commu-  
 “ nication immediately by mail, I must close by as-  
 “ suring you that the spirit of rebellion pervades the  
 “ great mass of the Republican party of this Territory,  
 “ instigated, as I entertain no doubt they are, by  
 “ Eastern Societies.”

Yet notwithstanding these declarations, Mr. Walker finally “sympathized” with the very desperadoes that he complains of, and was in consequence removed from his position by President Buchanan. Mr. Walker ceased from that moment to have any influence ; but,

taking advantage of the crusade against the South, he delivered two violent Northern spread-eagle speeches at Brooklyn and New York, after the fall of Fort Sumter in 1861, on April 23 and May 30; and he has since been more or less connected with the Lincoln administration. It is said by the newspapers that he has been the chief adviser of Mr. Chase, the Federal Secretary of the Treasury; and it is alleged that he is now in Europe as the representative of that department.

#### HIS OPINION AS TO STATE RIGHTS.

In a letter addressed to Mr. Arthur Davies, dated London, January 12, 1852, Mr. Walker wrote as follows:—"The United States of America are a confederated Republic, formed by, and composed of separate States, with a written constitution, limiting and designating the powers granted by these States to the general Government, all others being reserved to the States themselves. . . . We think, also, that it has been confirmed by long and uniform experience in our country, and that all our Presidents chosen by the people, from Washington to Fillmore, all included, *in moral worth, in exemplary deportment, public and private, in talents and patriotism*, were very far superior to any monarchs, who, during any period of the world, have, for an equal period of time, been placed by hereditary descent and accident at the head of any country."





# A LETTER,

ETC.

---

John O'Groat's House,  
Oct. 30th, 1863.

FRIEND ROBERT,—

From our townsman Obadiah Dunshunner, now visiting Europe as a patriotic contractor, or in avoidance of the conscription recently enforced by “the freest government on the face of the earth,” I learned your arrival in England, on the “secret” mission which you have contrived to make so public.

He has also sent me your three letters, and the story of your balloon ascension on the 12th instant with Mr. Coxwell, all of which, he tells me, has hugely diverted John Bull, who turned a deaf ear to “the words of truth and soberness” uttered by your worthy predecessors, George Francis Train and Cassius Marcellus Clay, and had hardened his heart against the gospel of love and peace, as expounded by Brothers Beecher and Brownlow, condensed by the latter into this pithy formula—

“GREEK FIRE FOR THE SOUTHERN MASSES,

“HELL FIRE FOR THE LEADERS.”

The fact is, these Britishers are so old-fashioned that they cannot understand the improved methods adopted by us in our Model Republic as regards Liberty, Morality, Religion, and the Art of War.

However, with your and Brother Beecher's help, something may be done to dispel their ignorance, even without the strong lights of Greek and Hell fire being projected into their midst, as recommended by our amiable friend Winter Davis the other day,—at least until after we have "crushed the rebellion."

I take the privilege of old friendship in saying that we, who know your whole history, thought it one of old Abe's best jokes to have sent you, rocked from infancy in the cradle of Repudiation—Pennsylvanian born and bred, and thence migrating to Mississippi, whose senator in Congress you were at the very period of its adoption there—to make a show of virtuous indignation against it and Jefferson Davis (who had nothing to do with it), for the first time fourteen years afterwards, in London. Such an example of tardy repentance is edifying indeed!—were it not slightly suspicious *under the circumstances*.

John Bull and his bondholders may love money much, but they love truth, honour, and manhood more; and I am really afraid that neither your figures of speech nor your figures of arithmetic can counteract the damaging effects of a plain statement of plain facts in regard to these very affairs, on which you have so largely and so unctuously des-

canted. Unhappily, all the natives of Pennsylvania of the old Democratic party are not so "loyal" as yourself, nor blessed with such convenient memories, for that obstinate fellow George M'Henry has just reviewed you, and quoted your own old speeches against your present opinions, in a way which you must regard as exceedingly unkind and ungentleman-like.

Macbeth could not have relished less the apparition of the bleeding Banquo at his little family dinner, than you, O Robert, the resurrection of your long buried speeches, whose grave, at M'Henry's bidding, "hath ope'd its ponderous jaws to cast them forth again."

Your old acquaintances, who have watched your devious steps from the good old days of your Mississippi "kite-flying" to your late ascension in Mr. Coxwell's balloon (whose specific levity could not greatly have exceeded your own), must cheerfully admit that you have fully carried out Mr. Lincoln's joke in your three

## LETTERS

OF

HON. ROBERT J. WALKER, M.A.,

COUNSELLOR AT LAW IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,

LATE LAW REP. MI., SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES,

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, COMMISSIONER TO CHINA,

GOVERNOR OF KANSAS, ETC. ETC.

The pampered aristocrats of England must stare at the string of titles appended to your very Democratic

name, but your balloon excursion must have opened their admiring eyes still wider. "It was a dream of the Hon. R. J. W.'s life," says the delighted Coxwell, "to enjoy this spectacle," &c. Little knew that sailor of the air the stuff your "dreams" were made of—that you sought thus to gain a bird's eye view of that distant China to which you may have been once "Commissioner," but which you have never seen. Or that other "dream" of the fulfilment of the threat of your friend Winter Davis, who seeks to forestall Lord Macaulay's New Zealander in standing on the ruins of London Bridge—thus depriving you of the view. Hence your haste, and the adoption of that unusual and insecure conveyance—the balloon. Or it may be the cunning Coxwell, seeing the quantity of gas contained in your productions, took you up as an exhaustless gasometer.

As each and all of these letters lack superscription, address, or visible correspondent, in manifest plagiarism of Mr. Toots' correspondence in "Dombey and Son," and all (in imitation of other late serial romances) are advertised "to be continued in our next," in virtue of old acquaintance I shall adopt these unfortunate foundlings, regard them as addressed to myself, and proceed to respond to them.

But before doing so, let us revive some reminiscences of "auld lang syne." No one has had greater reason than yourself to mourn the proverbial ingratitude of republics, and although the versatility of

your genius, which has led you to espouse all sides of every question (as they happened to come uppermost), has excited the suspicion of inconsistency and insincerity, no one that knows you can deny that you, like the Vicar of Bray, have always been faithful to yourself and to your own interests. Yet, after devoting the best part of your life to the public service (in every capacity that paid), the ungrateful Democracy literally "turned you out to grass," at the expiration of your term in the Treasury department, so gracefully eulogised by yourself.

Vainly withdrawn from your pleasant pastures in 1847, by Davis and Buchanan, only to sink into the "Slough of Despond" in Kansas, your labours seemed to be over. But tossed up again to the surface among other wrecks, by the great wave of the new Revolution, and swept even across the Atlantic, the ungrateful Seward, who (as he told the sympathetic Lyons) has only to ring one of those two bells on his right or left hand to imprison any impertinent editor in the "Free North," allows your signal services abroad to be thus characterised by the *New York Daily News*, the organ of the Democracy.

ROBERT J. WALKER.

(*From the News of October 1863.*)

"If my voice could reach even the Black Republican party, I would say, re-assemble your convention, re-nominate your candidates if you please, elect them if you can, take all the spoils, but tear down your African platform ere you indorse it at the polls, and give to the South a perfect justification for withdrawing from this Union."

“ This was uttered by Mr. Robert J. Walker in 1856. He is now in the enjoyment of some lucrative office abroad, under the Lincoln Administration, and, like all renegades, is worse than ten Turks in his denunciations of the Democratic party. He is what is called a War Democrat of the most violent type, which simply means a Democrat who has turned Republican in consideration of certain emoluments of office, and upon the receipt of which he will endeavour to harmonize his former inconsistencies, and use his former Democracy as a decoy duck to allure others to his position.”

After such another proof of Republican ingratitude, well may you, O Robert, seek the purer air in Mr. Coxwell's balloon, and remain up there (if practicable), for on the surface of the earth there can be no resting-place for a foot or a fancy as erratic as yours—no refuge from the resurrection of your own old speeches, when you were a Slaveholding and a States Rights Democrat.

To begin at once with your Letter No. I., of July 1. It has this taking caption in addition to the formula of titles given above, printed in Mr. Ridgway's largest type—

JEFFERSON DAVIS

AND

REPUDIATION.

The whole end and aim of this letter is to identify the name of Jefferson Davis with the unsavoury name of Repudiation; and if the execution of the design

had only equalled the conception, your political success would have surpassed your financial, to the memory of which you so fondly recur. But in the frankness of friendship I must show you how badly the promise of the advertisement is fulfilled ; the taking title reduced to a nullity. I have wandered in vain through the long labyrinth of words which covers fifty-eight pages, and have found no clue to Jefferson Davis therein. To use a western phrase familiar to you, if there be "a nigger on the fence," it must be, not Jeff. Davis, but Robert J. Walker. For it is evident that it was the sly fox Walker, not the grim wolf Davis, who played the lion's part in Mississippi politics at and after the time when that "deed without a name" was consummated. That you should have taken the trouble to establish this so conclusively is another proof of the incurable artlessness and unselfishness which have characterised you throughout life, and left you Mr. Lincoln's "Incomplete Letter writer" at the close of your long career.

I must admire, however, the graceful affectation with which you commence your letter : "Soon after  
 " my arrival in London from New York my attention  
 " was called by some English as well as American  
 " friends, to an article which had appeared, more than  
 " a month previously, in the *London Times* of the 23rd  
 " March last." You then take up Mr. Slidell's note in the money article of the *Times* on the collateral question of the identity of *Jefferson* and of *Reuben Davis*



respectively, a question promptly settled by the *Times* the day after it was raised. Mr. Slidell, in a brief note to a friend (evidently not meant for publication), had suggested that possibly some people abroad might confound the two names, and on this loop you strive to hang an intentional misrepresentation of your own, viz., that "*Jefferson*" and not "*Reuben*" was "*the repudiator* in 1849."

This was an ingenious dodge, Robert. It is one of those half truths which is a sneaking way of telling a whole falsehood. By it the British public was induced to believe that the act of Repudiation was perpetrated in 1849, and by the advice and instigation of Jefferson Davis, for you go on to say, "these views of Mr. Jefferson Davis attracted my most earnest attention, because, *after a brief interval*, he was one of my successors in the Senate of the United States. I had always earnestly opposed the doctrine of Repudiation in Mississippi, &c., &c."

I must do you justice to say that this is a piece of smartness worthy of a 'cute Yankee of the Barnum school—a kind of moral mermaid, got up for the mystification of the public of these green islands.

If Mr. Slidell, a veteran politician, admits his want of familiarity with the real history and merits of this local question, dead and buried twenty years ago, and forgotten by everybody except the British bondholders, who took it then (on spec) at five cents in the dollar, how could the British public be expected to detect the

ingenious ruse? and although it was sure to be found out and exposed at last (as all untruths are) yet is it not a maxim in our new Ethics on the other side of the water, that "a lie well stuck to IS BETTER than truth?"

Stick to it therefore! but why should you in the same breath refresh our memories as to *the date* of these transactions? reminding us, that when Mississippi passed the act of Repudiation, and for several years afterwards, you were her trusted and most influential politician, and Jefferson Davis (not Reuben) unconnected with politics or politicians in any shape; he having then retired from the army in which he had distinguished himself in the Indian Campaigns, re-entering it in 1846, as Colonel of the Mississippi regiment to take part in the war with Mexico. As a reward for his gallantry at Buena Vista, President Polk named him Brigadier-general, and it is characteristic of the foolish obstinacy of the man (which *he* calls consistency) that he declined the promotion, on the ground that the President of the United States had no authority under the constitution to make such an appointment—that it was an infringement of the rights of the sovereign States.

How you, O Robert, snugly and safely sitting at that time in the cabinet of Mr. Polk, by a warm fire, and with a better salary than Lincoln now gives you, must have snickered over the scruples of the stubborn soldier, pursuing that "bubble honour," concerning

which you, I, and Jack Falstaff have ever held the same practical opinions.

Pardon the digression. The joke really was so good that I could not refrain from tickling your ribs with it.

The only appearance of Jeff. Davis in Mississippi during those years was in the very unimportant function of Presidential Elector (a nominal responsibility only), in 1844, three years after the Repudiation question had been settled, and again in 1845, in Congress of the United States, as representative for one year. He had resigned his seat in Congress to go to the Mexican war, as before stated, and did not actively commence his public life until 1847 ; never having said, spoken, or written anything about Repudiation until 1849, eight years after its *demise*, like a tardy Antony delivering a funeral oration over the disinterred body of a slaughtered Cæsar. You and I know very well, Robert, that he was not "in at the death," as you were ; and that he never was Governor of Mississippi, or held any office of profit or trust in that State in the whole course of his life ; and that your attempt to saddle him with the responsibility for acts in which he had no art or part, is an adroit afterthought of your own. Artful dodger that you are ! neither the angular *Abram*, nor the subtle Seward could have devised a prettier plot. But why mar it by your mouthing and grimacing at the audience, before the scenes, in your own proper person ?

Robert! Robert! your vanity must surely have got the better of your discretion, when recalling your own biography, and enumerating your own past honours, you prove yourself (by figures that cannot lie) an accessory *before* the fact, when the deed was done—present, if not aiding and abetting—and can only find a letter dated eight years afterwards, to criminate Jeff. Davis, who then first appears on the scene. People will ask if you, by your own admission, were really the man of the day in Mississippi from 1836 to 1845, when the act was concerted and perpetrated, how came it to pass that your opposition to the measure did not in that most democratic State, impede your advancement, and destroy your popularity? and if you had really and truly (as you affirm), “always earnestly opposed the doctrine of Repudiation in Mississippi,” how does it happen that in sending over to America for the proofs against Jeff. Davis, you did not also obtain some eloquent extracts from your own writings or speeches, to that effect?

Even had the proofs obtained from the other side of the water been sufficient to establish Jefferson Davis’s responsibility in the matter of Repudiation (nine years after the fact), that would not clear your skirts from complicity in the act at the time, you having been present, if not actively assisting.

An informer is not bound to criminate himself, it is true, when he patriotically assists justice on his comrades; but although he may escape legal penalties in

his own person, yet his moral guilt is not purged by the conviction of his fellow-criminals, either in the eye of Man or God. Those who "love the treason," still may "hate the traitor," according to those ugly old proverbs, which pithily express the common sense of mankind.

Why were the thunders of your voice hushed during those memorable years, while Repudiation stalked rampant over Mississippi, "alive and kicking?" Why wait to waste your blows and buffets on its corpse? Moreover, you were at Washington as "Counsellor-at-Law," when that impudent Jefferson (not Reuben) Davis, who had superseded you as Senator, wrote and published those two letters which then horrified you so much. Why was your ready pen idle then—left to grow rusty with the ink and gall now so profusely poured forth?

These inquisitive Scotchmen will most impertinently persist in pestering your unfortunate friend with these leading questions. How *am* I to answer them?

But you plunge deeper into the quagmire a little further on, page 34 of your letter, when you say: "Mississippi was the *first* repudiating State; A. G. McNutt, the *first* repudiating Governor; and Jefferson Davis, the *first* repudiating Senator. As another evidence of the incredible extent to which the public sentiment of that day was debased, I quote the following passage from Governor McNutt's message of 1840, proposing to repeal the Bank Charters, and to *legalize* the *forgery* of their notes: "The issuing of paper money, in contravention of

“ the repealing act, could be effectually checked by  
 “ the abrogation of all laws making it penal to forge  
 “ such paper.’—*Sen. Jour.* p. 53. Surely, nothing but  
 “ the fell spirit of slavery could have dictated such a  
 “ sentiment.”

Do you give your readers so little credit for memory as to suppose they could have forgotten that you had just informed them on a previous page that “ that day ” (1840) on which you declare the public sentiment to have been “ so debased ” in Mississippi, you were her Senator and leading politician, and for several successive “ days ” afterwards, to wit, until ’45.

Governor McNutt, your former friend, is in his grave ; he cannot contradict you. The “ fell spirit of slavery ” at that day found in you one of its most earnest advocates. Mississippi, “ the first repudiating State,” gave you wealth, honour, almost all the titles you parade so proudly ; and did not “ repudiate ” *you* until long years afterwards. But Jefferson Davis still lives, and you may well be justly proud of the contrast afforded to the world by your present “ loyalty ! ” and his “ treason ! ”

“ Loyalty ” to the friends of one’s youth and manhood—to the State and people who gave bread and honours to the struggling stranger from a distant region—to the principles and the institutions among which the better part of one’s life has passed, is deemed honourable among men of every nation and every clime ; but how much rarer and purer is that “ loyalty ”

which out of prejudices such as these, under the "higher Law" promulgated by the Prophet Seward, can extract materials for proving how bad, base, and worthless that place and those people really were!!!

But I fear that the unenlightened people of despotic and decrepid Europe cannot appreciate the sublimity of the sacrifice made by you in this respect; and may impute your "last speech and confession" to meaner motives.

Sidney Smith, that wicked wit, who also wrote "Letters on American Debts" many years ago (very unlike yours, it must be admitted), did not, if my memory serves me, address those letters to the State of your adoption, Mississippi, but to that of your birth, Pennsylvania; and those letters were written in "that day" to which you so feelingly recur. That pleasing writer, referring to some little transactions in Pennsylvania, almost echoes your words (twenty years in advance):

"I repeat, again, that no conduct was ever more profligate than that of the State of Pennsylvania. History cannot pattern it; and let no deluded being imagine they will ever repay a single farthing. Their people have tasted the dangerous luxury of dishonesty, and they will never be brought back to the homely rule of right. The money transactions of the Americans are become a byword among the nations of Europe. In every grammar-school of the Old World 'Ad Græcas Calendas' is translated 'the American dividends.'"

So wrote the witty Sidney, wincing under the smart of his unpaid Pennsylvanian bonds. And he

adds a hint of which you evidently have availed yourself in your spasmodic shrieks against the Southern President and the Southern People as wicked wretches who never pay!

"For," says Sidney Smith, "Bull is naturally disposed to love you, but he loves nobody who does not pay him. His imaginary paradise is some planet of punctual payment, where ready money prevails, and where debt and discount are unknown." Into that paradise of John Bull's have your feet ever wandered, oh! my friend? If so, it must have been in your latter days, when,

"Though lost to sight,  
To memory dear,"

the people of that "first repudiating State," your former residence, refreshed their memory of you by looking at their ledgers.

That odd fellow, Tom Hood, years ago ridiculed American Credit worse than you do now, in a small print, entitled, "The only safe American Securities." The drawing represented the Stocks, into which the feet of country culprits are usually introduced. And Mr. Thackeray in 1862 addressed his letters to Messrs. Broadway and Battery, of New York, in the *Cornhill Magazine*, and not to any Southern Bankers.

You are very complimentary to the *Times* for its *exposé* of the Mississippi matter, and take up the cudgels for it, and for the British bondholders against the cruel calumnies of Jeff. Davis in his letter in 1849.



But the *Times* really does not merit your gushing gratitude. Take out your spectacles, and you will find that its City article of July 20, 1861, establishes the fact that Repudiation is the distinctive badge neither of North nor South, but that the balance heavily inclines to the Northern scale in the matter of foreign indebtedness. It also uncovers the "cat in the meal-tub" of these many missions, of which yours is the last and the least, namely, the hope through John Bull's sympathies to unbutton his breeches' pockets,—a meritorious but unpromising undertaking.

Thus growled the Thunderer in 1861:—

"As regards the South, Mississippi presents unquestionably the most flagrant case. Next comes Arkansas, which in the openness of its bad faith has been a steady imitator of Mississippi; and lastly we have Florida, which has always contrived to avoid a direct avowal of repudiation by resorting instead to a quibble of constitutional law. The debt of Florida was contracted when she was a 'Territory,' and the plea is that for debts so contracted the Federal Government are liable. The Federal Government take the opposite view, and the result is that between them the creditor gets nothing. Turning to the North, the only State whose conduct in any degree rivals that of Mississippi is Michigan. In this case, the repudiation is direct and unblushing, and is rather aggravated by the fact that, as there is a portion of debt which she has not repudiated, and on which she pays dividends, the Governor, in his annual message, generally introduces a flourish to the effect that, with the honour by which she has ever been distinguished,

“ the State continues to provide duly for all her  
 “ public obligations. Pennsylvania has never, in the  
 “ general sense, been a repudiator, but her financial  
 “ character suffers from a wound which derives its  
 “ worst features from its smallness. She issued bonds  
 “ for arrears of dividends at a full rate of interest,  
 “ and when these fell due with an accumulation  
 “ of such interest, refused to pay them unless the  
 “ holders would accept a lower rate. It is also to be  
 “ mentioned that, although the State is under no  
 “ other delinquency, the municipality of Pittsburgh  
 “ —one of her chief towns, the Birmingham of  
 “ America—has very recently refused to pay a large  
 “ amount of railway bonds issued on her guarantee,  
 “ and, with the support of the populace, have defied  
 “ even the mandates of the Supreme Court. The  
 “ next and last State is Indiana. This State, after  
 “ a tedious default, offered to pay dividends upon  
 “ half her debt, if her creditors would take the un-  
 “ finished State Canal in payment for the other half,  
 “ advancing at the same time sufficient for its com-  
 “ pletion. The value of the canal was considerable,  
 “ because it took all the central traffic of the State,  
 “ and was protected by a charter which it was agreed  
 “ should be upheld against competing lines, either of  
 “ canal or railway. The creditors accepted the terms  
 “ and laid out the required sum, and instantly upon  
 “ this being done, the State authorities removed all  
 “ protection, passed a law enabling the construction  
 “ of opposition lines actually along its banks, and  
 “ thus rendered the property entirely worthless.  
 “ These are uncoloured facts which cannot be contra-  
 “ dicted, and capitalists must form their own conclu-  
 “ sions from them. But it will be said they do not  
 “ bear upon the Federal Government, whose engage-  
 “ ments, with the exception of the paper issues during

" the revolutionary war, have always been fulfilled.  
 " That is a point, however, for each individual to de-  
 " termine, according to his fancy as to whether a  
 " certain proportion of unsound States among a  
 " limited Federation is to be reckoned as an element  
 " of danger. We must also bear in mind that it is  
 " not our place to decide which is the real offender  
 " with regard to the Florida debt—the individual  
 " State or the Federal Government. Finally, it must  
 " be remarked that the aggregate population of such of  
 " the Northern States as may have been compromised  
 " by default is 5,000,000, and that of the Southern only  
 " 800,000. Under these circumstances, it would seem  
 " there is not much to encourage our capitalists to inter-  
 " fere by supplying means to either side ; while in a  
 " political sense, it is certain that any such movement  
 " would injure our future good relations, since we  
 " should have a strong prospect that on the termina-  
 " tion of the contest, either by force or compromise,  
 " the re-united friends would join to attribute the  
 " greater part of the miseries they had inflicted on  
 " each other to the British gold maliciously supplied  
 " by our aristocracy for the very purpose of giving  
 " intensity to the contest and destroying free insti-  
 " tutions."

And in even yet a deeper bass has it growled to the  
 same effect in 1863.

The Sampson of the *Times* having thus dragged  
 down the pillars of the temple of American credit,  
 built up so carefully by yourself and Mr. Chase, you  
 must see that the effusion of what that impudent  
 fellow, Jeff. Davis, calls "crocodile tears," over the  
 wickedness of Southern defaulters, will only be a waste  
 of water.

So do not get maudlin any more on the subject, but try soberly to convince John Bull how easily Mr. Chase can pay him off any little loan of a few thousand millions in "greenbacks," their unlimited production depending only on a given quantity of paper and power presses.

For as of old, Aaron erected a golden calf for the Israelites to worship, so in our happy day has the "Almighty Dollar" (in paper) become the object of our idolatry. We remember it is the "*root* of all evil," gold, which moralists have denounced, not the harmless *leaves*, or "greenbacks," which now strew our paths on Broadway or Pennsylvania avenue.

So that we can appeal to England for assistance on high moral and religious principles, in this as in all other matters, sure at least of the sympathy and support of the GREAT MAN who now governs the realm, our own gentle Johnny R., who has outlived his early constitutional weaknesses about Habeas Corpus and free speech, and now prefers the meetings at Bull's Run to those at Runnymede.

But "let me resume the debate," as you say in your letter, after a digression of eleven pages in length; for I find that in trying to follow you I get as giddy as if I were running round after the sails of a windmill.

Really, Robert, your letter, like a lady's, has the pith in the postscript, when you say:

"As Jefferson Davis is now at the head of a slave-  
holding rebellion, endeavouring to destroy the

“ government of my country, and is now also engaged  
 “ in selling worthless Confederate bonds in this market,  
 “ I have deemed it my duty to make this publication.  
 (Signed) “ R. J. WALKER.”

When first I attempted to read your letter, I fell asleep at the 37th page, and came near losing all the spicy part. I could not comprehend why you were wasting so many words to prove *an alibi* for yourself in the Mississippi matter, and what Jeff. Davis, Repudiation, and Slavery had got to do with it, more than twenty years afterwards. I thought of Gil Blas and the Archbishop's sermons in reading that dull and confused string of words, which you term “ a narrative of “ those transactions.”

But glancing (as is my wont with fictions) at the end, to see the plot, the true drift of your labours flashed upon me. Turning again to page 40, I found you had abandoned your nominal and taken up your real theme. Recovering from the asphyxia which *facts* always give you, and thus violently awaking, like Bully Bottom,

“ In the Ercles' vein,  
 A part to tear a cat in,”

you thus bring down the house :

“ *Secession, repudiation and slavery*, are the same in principle and had the same leaders. Jefferson Davis carried the repudiation banner in 1849, as he now does that of secession and slavery. Secession is a repudiation of law, of constitution, of country, of the flag of our forefathers, and of the Union purchased by their blood. Driven at home, within a circle of fire, which narrows every day, it is crouching before foreign rulers and imploring their aid to accomplish the ruin of our country. It appeals to their ambition, their avarice, their fears, their hatred of free

institutions and of constitutional government. It summons them to these English shores, it unsheathes the imperial sceptre in the House of Commons, denounces the Ministry of England, and dictates the vote of Parliament on the most momentous question in the history of the world. Why, when these sentiments were uttered, I almost expected to see the shades of Burke and Fox, and Pitt and Chatham, and Peel and Wellington, rise in the midst and denounce the degenerate bearer of such a message. What! the British Commons become the supple tools, the obsequious minions, the obedient parasites, to do the bidding of a foreign master, and tremble when his envoy should stamp his foot and wave the imperial banner in the halls of Parliament. From whom was this message, and to whom? Was it to the England of Trafalgar and the Nile? Was it to the descendants of the men who conquered at Agincourt and Cressy, and changed for ages at Waterloo the destiny of the world? Why, Nelson would speak from his monument, and the Iron Duke from his equestrian statue, and forbid the degradation of their country. But there stood the Confederate messenger, delivering the mandate of a foreign Power to the House of Commons, describing England as a crawling reptile, exalting the Government he professed to represent, as controlling the Continent, and fearing lest the Imperial Eagle alone should swoop down upon his prey. And such language, such sentiments! Was I in Billingsgate, that ancient and illustrious institution, so near the House of Parliament? Why, the whole code of morals and of international law was repudiated in a sentence, and our demagogues distanced in the race. Did the envoy echo the voice of his master, when he announced that the American Union must be dissolved by foreign intervention, because, if reunited it would be too strong and bully the world—therefore France and England combined must strike us when we are supposed to be weak and divided? It is not the author of such ignoble sentiments, that would lead the banner of France, or of England, anywhere, except to humiliation and disgrace. ‘Non talis auxiliï, nec defensoribus ipsis’—No, when, England seeks leaders, it will not be the sycophants of power, those who worship alternately democracy and autocracy, who slaver over despotism one day with their venom, and the next, 1862 to 1863, with their still more loathsome adulation.”

That burst is worthy of our Congress!

Bunkum can't beat it!

Nothing short of the most fiery British brandy could have inspired it.

From the speeches of Cassius Clay and Charles Sumner you have borrowed the denunciation, drawing on your memory for your metaphors, and on your fancy for your facts.

Your rambles over London have naturally suggested those novel apostrophes to Westminster Abbey, the Iron Duke, and his brazen brothers at Charing Cross. Punch furnished you the hit at "Roebuck the envoy," and native genius did the rest.

Where there is really so much to admire, I may give a friendly hint or two as to what to avoid in the rest of the series.

Why betray your visit to another and more "fishy" locality than those mentioned above, by asking,

"Was I in *Billingsgate*, that ancient and illustrious "institution, so near the House of Parliament?"

Why recal the fountain whence your inspiration came?

And even if you did draw your supply of strong expressions from that "well of English undefiled," where on earth did you get your Latin from?

For my Scotch neighbours, friends of old John O'Groat, repudiate your attempt at that language, "*Non talis auxilii, nec defensoribus ipsis*," belonging to the vulgar species termed "canine," and not usually employed in the briefs of counsellors of Supreme Courts.

Hence they echo your cry for "Schools—*Schools*—SCHOOLS—common schools—*high schools* for all," the

want of which these caustic critics say they detect in your composition.

You have been to the Opera, too, you old Slyboots. Do not deny it, for that call on the Iron Duke "to speak from his equestrian statue" is a souvenir of Don Giovanni, but not happily put, for you should remember the fate that befel the rash invoker, and the place in which he finally found himself.

And why, in the name of common sense, "repudiate" yourself at the conclusion by painting a portrait which no one could fail to recognise by the light of your past career. Thus:—

"When England seeks leaders, it will not be the sycophants of power, those who worship alternately democracy and autocracy, who slaver over despotism one day with their venom, and the next with their still more loathsome adulation."

It is a capital plan you have adopted of asking questions and answering them yourself. So you would be very successful in that way, were not the facts unhappily of such recent occurrence that everybody knows your answers to be incorrect; and your indignant question—

"Why predict that when reunited, and with slavery extinguished, we would *bully the world*?" (the italics are your own) brings out this answer—

Simply because, even in this hour of the nation's agony, with General Lee only fifteen miles from the Capitol, with Mr. Lincoln listening to the sound of the enemy's cannon, and Rosencranz cooped up in



Chattanooga by Bragg, Senator Sumner bullies poor Lord Russell until he makes feeble apologies at Blairgowrie,—Seward scolds shrilly in despatches too long for anybody to read,—all the stump orators threaten “perfidious Albion” and faithless France with Republican vengeance, hugging the Russian bear lustily in cordial sympathy, while the “winter of our discontent” (Winter Davis to wit), thus discourses in Philadelphia, amid “wild and prolonged applause,” as quoted by the *Times* :—

“Winter Davis addressed a great mass meeting in Philadelphia lately. The *North American* gives a sketch of his speech, from which we quote as follows :—‘The attitude we held in the eyes of Europe when the war broke out was shown by the speaker. He drew a picture of the attitude we shall hold when the rebellion is crushed out. When this is settled there is a long account to settle with two great nations of Europe. (Wild and prolonged applause, the audience rising and waving their hats.) The speaker said he never said a word on that subject to anybody in this house before ; but he knew what he thought, and he guessed what the audience thought. He depicted in graphic terms the perfidy of England and France. These acts will fester and rankle till the day of account. He used to be opposed to foreign war. He had learnt something in two years. The sin of the *Alabama* and the invasion of Mexico have awakened this country. Napoleon will be expelled from this continent, and the Bahamas are not to be allowed to remain a nest of pirates. And he gloried in the day when black regiments should march to the halls of the Montezumas, where

‘the men of New York and Pennsylvania marched  
 ‘in days gone by. (Wild and deafening applause.)  
 ‘And if Admiral Dupont should live, he hoped yet  
 ‘to see his bombshells bursting over the dome of St.  
 ‘Paul’s, and the ruins of London-bridge tumbling into  
 ‘the stream below.’”

Nor is this all. The old Lady of Threadneedle-street has just been outdone by our “old Lady” of the Treasury at Washington, Madam Chase, who with the true feminine instinct, threatens to scratch and pull hair. Pitiful Charles Sumner, with all his “tall talk,” never could come up to the scratch like this:—

“Secretary Chase in a speech delivered in Cincinnati on Monday last—the evening previous to the elections in Ohio—justified every act of the Administration, and believed the rebellion virtually at an end. He declared that the evidences of strength shown by the Republic during the war were sufficient guarantees against intervention; that certain acts of unfriendliness had sometimes made him feel ‘as if he should like to take old mother England by the hair and give her a good shaking.’ He was certain that no more pirate ships would be sent out from England to prey upon American commerce, and that eventually England would consider it the best policy to pay for all the depredations of the *Alabama* and her consorts.”

His political views are thus reported:—

NEW YORK, October 16, Evening.

“Everywhere throughout the whole world despotism and aristocracy are in sympathy with the rebellion. Despotism and aristocracy do not like a great and flourishing republic. The English

“ aristocracy and the French despotism would natu-  
 “ rally like to see this country broken up. Then  
 “ there is another ground of sympathy—despotism  
 “ naturally sympathizes with despotism ; aristocracy  
 “ naturally sympathizes with aristocracy ; and the  
 “ despotism of the whole world sympathizes with the  
 “ aristocracy and the despotism that they expected to  
 “ build up in the Southern States. Therefore it is  
 “ they have naturally been against us. *You know*  
 “ *what has been done in England*: you know that a  
 “ great deal of sympathy has been manufactured for  
 “ the South ; but just in proportion as we advanced,  
 “ partly through the proclamation, and partly through  
 “ the success of our armies, the sympathy has become  
 “ less and less available, and just in proportion as we  
 “ carry this war on will they think less and less of  
 “ interference with us. I am asked now and then  
 “ what I think of intervention ; and while I am here  
 “ among my own friends in Ohio I can tell you what  
 “ I think myself. It is this : if we are weak they  
 “ will interfere, but when despotism sees we are strong  
 “ it will slink away. (Cheers.)

“ We are showing our strength to the nations of  
 “ the earth. And I think if we simply go on thus  
 “ showing our strength there is no danger of inter-  
 “ vention. No danger, because it wont pay.  
 “ (Cheers.) But of one thing I feel well as-  
 “ sured—that England wont send any more pi-  
 “ ratical ships to prey upon our commerce. And of  
 “ another thing I feel certain—that when England  
 “ looks this matter over calmly, and considers that a  
 “ certain ship—the Alabama—was fitted out in a  
 “ British port, manned by British sailors, and armed  
 “ by British guns, and has since been roving over the  
 “ seas, plundering American vessels, without daring  
 “ to bring a single prize into port, she will conclude

“ upon the whole that it is the best to pay American merchants for all the damage the Alabama has done. (Great cheers.)

“ Then we have a sort of a new empire on our borders, over in Mexico. Well, I am not much disturbed about that. Empires don’t last long in America. (Cheers.) I don’t know how long this empire, if it is born, will last. (Laughter.) There was an attempt to make an empire in Mexico awhile ago, with one Iturbide at its head ; but, if I am not mistaken, he didn’t find it very profitable, or agreeable to the people in Mexico. I don’t know but this new Austrian emperor will find his bed of roses there ; but I am inclined to think his roses will be very few, and the bed very hard. (Laughter.) I am willing to trust it awhile. I am perfectly sure, taking all things into consideration, that European monarchies will soon think it best to keep their institutions at home. (Renewed laughter and applause.) ”

What a picture *Punch* could make of it ! The stern Western virago pulling the hair of little Lord Johnny, pitifully pleading to be permitted to “ *Rest and be thankful.* ” I hope Mr. Leech wont get hold of the idea.

Turn to the daily issues of the New York papers, to the shrieks of the leading Republicans, or even of the war Democrats, and you will see, oh, guileless Robert, why this prediction of “ bullying the world ” is made.

For even in the pulpit, the messengers of “ peace on earth and goodwill towards men,” have not scrupled to bully too.

Even the apostolic Beecher, so ready to recommend Sharp's rifles as companions to the Bible, did not scruple to say during the *Trent* affair—

(*Rev. H. W. Beecher, in the New York Independent.*)

"Should the President quietly yield to the present necessity (viz., the delivering up of Messrs. Mason and Slidell), as the lesser of two evils, *and bide our time with England*, there will be a sense of wrong, of national humiliation so profound, and a horror of the unfeeling selfishness of the English Government in the great emergency of our affairs, *such as will inevitably break out by and by in flames, and which will only be extinguished* by a deluge of blood! We are not living the whole of our life to-day; there is a future to the United States in which the Nation will right any injustice of the present hour."

The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, at a Meeting held in New York at the time when the Confederate envoys, Messrs. Slidell and Mason, had been surrendered by President Lincoln to the British Government, from whose vessel (the royal mail steamer *Trent*) they were taken, said—

"That the best blood of England must flow for the outrage England had perpetrated upon America."

So if from pulpit, press, and stump, the same note is heard, how can ignorant Englishmen understand that it all means love, friendship, and fraternity?

Then you ask the question :

"Who struck down Charles Sumner, the senator of Massachusetts, the eminent scholar and orator, on the floor of the Senate, *for denouncing the horrors of slavery*? A South Carolina Member of Congress, whilst all slaverydom approved the deed."

Robert! your memory serves you badly in this matter of Sumner. The "eminent scholar and orator" was chastised by Brooks on the floor of the Senate, because he could not be caught anywhere else, after a week's watching; the senator, like Chevy Slyme, having the peculiarity of being "always round the corner," when sought for a hostile purpose. But the Senate was not in session at the time, nor was the place any more sacred than any other floor. Nor was he beaten like a dog (and without even a dog's show of resistance), by a man vastly inferior to himself in size and strength, on whom the hand of consumption had set its seal, and of his own age, because he "denounced the horrors of slavery." He was punished for a scurrilous personal assault on a venerable man, Senator Butler of South Carolina, whose infirmities he had ridiculed in debate, and who stood almost in a father's place to Brooks, whose uncle he was. And you, Robert, with every man of the North who felt like a gentleman, then approved the deed, though they lamented its indiscretion, as to time and place.

This same man, Sumner, who fled shrieking from his country at the sight of a few drops of his own blood, without the courage to defend himself, has since been the loudest shrieker for Southern extermination; hounding on his countrymen to massacres, but always keeping at a safe distance from danger.

No, Robert, "loyal" as we are, we cannot take *Charles Sumner* as a model of Northern manhood!

Judge Butler, and his avenger Brooks, have both been in their graves for many years. Let their ashes rest. But let Charles Sumner go into the battle field, if he would not have us deem him a craven "bully," prodigal of other men's lives, but over-careful of his own.

Your next question about Kansas is equally unfortunate.

"Who endeavoured to force slavery on Kansas by  
"murder and rapine, and the forgery of a constitution?"

Why, where is your memory, that you forget your own despatches from Kansas, when Governor, and your denunciation of the abolition faction there?

Naturally, however, you feel sore about the very short term of your service there, and the reasons which abbreviated it.

Your third question betrays a total loss of memory.

"Who repealed the Missouri compromise, in order  
"to force slavery upon all the territories of the United  
"States?"

Who? why, Robert, have you forgotten who did it? Your great leader and bosom friend, Stephen A. Douglas, who forced it on the reluctant Southerners, and by so doing, lost their support in the ensuing canvas for President; as nobody ought to know better than yourself.

"4thly. Who are now endeavouring to dissolve the  
"Union and force slavery on the whole of this wide  
"domain?"

Why, what wide domain is the man talking about? The South? Slavery exists there already, and even good Mr. Lincoln promises to let it stay there, if the South will come back to the "Union as it was." The North? But nobody in the South wants to annex the North. The whole bloody struggle is to ensure a perpetual severance.

Why, therefore, rave so incoherently? People will discover that you are talking arrant nonsense, which is even worse than indulging in fiction.

But you go on from worse to worst when you talk in this way.

"Who conspired to assassinate the American President on his way to Washington? Who murdered in Baltimore the men of Massachusetts on their way to the defence of the Capitol of the Union? Who commenced the conflict by firing upon the starving garrison of Sumter, and striking down the banner of the Union which floated over its walls? Who, immediately thereafter, announced their resolution to capture Washington, seized the National arms, and forts, and dockyards, and vessels, and arsenals, and mints, and treasure, and opened the war upon the Federal Government? There is a plain answer to all these questions."

There is a plain answer to all these questions, as you truly say; but you do not give it, although you quote Sumner's balderdash and seek to fasten it on

"*The Lords of the Whip and the Chain and the Branding iron*," one of whom you were, in your *calida juventus* (to save you trouble, this means your



hot youth), and for many years of your ripe manhood, Oh, man of many homes, and many principles!

Did you, really now, amuse the children in your Mississippi home, with the toys you have named? and why, among the numerous titles affixed to your letters did you not add this too:

“Lord of the Whip and the Chain, and the Branding Iron?”

What did you do with those insignia of the order when you left Mississippi? Did you send them to your friend Butler to use upon the rebel white women at whom he levelled his famous (or as Lord Palmerston, with true British prejudice, calls it, “infamous”) proclamation, ordering “that hereafter, when any “female shall, by word, gesture, or movement, insult “or show contempt for any officer, or private of the “United States, she shall be regarded and held liable “to be treated as *a woman of the town plying her “vocation.*”

The next question is really malicious. You must have your joke even at poor Mr. Lincoln’s expense, but you should recollect that it is bad to joke as well as to argue with “the master of legions.”

“Who conspired to assassinate the American President on his way to Washington?”

Echo answers “Who!” for those assassins, as everybody knows, were of the family of Falstaffs, “men in buckram,” cousins of those “rogues in Kendall Green.” If President Lincoln, frightened at his own shadow, stole into Washington at midnight, disguised

in that "Scotch cap and cloak," why should you so wickedly remind us of it?

As to "the murdering" at Baltimore, I always thought that the men of Massachusetts murdered the Marylanders, who were only defending their own soil from an armed invasion made in time of peace.

At that time there was not a single Southern soldier north of South Carolina, and no one dreamed of "capturing Washington," for no one imagined there would be war.

As to who commenced this cruel war, there can now be as little doubt as to who now continue it, the South from the first only having asked to be "let alone."

Let us "tell the truth and shame the devil," Robert. The "bullying" of England never has come from the Southern but from the Northern statesmen, as our past history shows. When in 1841 war was threatened in the famous Caroline case, it was Governor Seward, of New York, now Secretary of State, who "blustered," and encouraged secret organisations to invade Canada, and the Southern President, John Tyler, of Virginia, supported by Southern statesmen, had to stop it by proclamation.

In the Maine boundary and Oregon disputes, the "bullies" were the Northern, the peacemaking the Southern men. The great Southern leader, as potential in his section as Lord Palmerston is in England, raised his powerful voice for peace with England on

both these occasions, in 1842 and in 1846, in speeches of great force and fervour ; ably seconded on the last occasion in the House of Representatives by Wm. L. Yancey, late Commissioner to England : and Jefferson Davis, then a new member, made almost his maiden speech on the same side. On February 6, 1846, he said :

“ We have even been told that one of the advantages to result from war will be emancipation from the manufactures of Manchester and Birmingham. I hope, Sir, the day is far distant when measures of peace or war will be prompted by sectional or class interests.”

“ Mr. Chairman, it has been asserted that the people demand action, and we must advance. Sir, may the day never come when there will be so little of public virtue and patriotic devotion among the representatives of the people that any demagogue who chooses to make violent and unfounded appeals to raise a war clamour in the country will be allowed, unopposed, to mislead the people as to the true questions at issue, and to rule their representatives through their love of place and political timidity !”

It is curious soldiers never want war : only civilians like Cass and Sumner are fond of it !

Leading the war party in the opposition, was the venerable father of our present minister, Mr. Adams, who, in 1846, went so far as to threaten England with the loss of Ireland, in the following memorable words :

He had the Holy Scripture read by the Clerk of the House of Representatives, to prove that God had

given the heathen as an inheritance to his chosen people, and the uttermost part of the earth as a possession, claiming Oregon by this title for the United States, adding :

“ And now, Sir, *the Government of Great Britain — the nation of Great Britain — holds the island of Ireland by no other title. That is, no other, unless by conquest (for it has been in a continued state of rebellion ever since), and Great Britain has been obliged to conquer it half a dozen times since ; and now the question is, whether Ireland shall ever become an independent kingdom. If we come to a war with Great Britain, she will find enough to do to maintain that island.*”

He led the Northern Whigs, and the leaders of the Northern Democrats blustered as loudly as he. General Lewis Cass thus taunted the Senator from South Carolina, Mr. Calhoun, with his dread of a war with England :

“ Let us have no red lines on the map of Oregon, and if war comes, be it so. \* \* \* England might as well attempt to blow up the rock of Gibraltar with a squib as to attempt to subdue us. Why the honourable Senator from South Carolina fixes upon ten years for the duration of the war, I know not ; long before the expiration of that period, if we are not utterly unworthy of our name and our birthright, we should sweep the British power from the Continent of North America.”

The last difficulty between the two countries, before the late revolution, on the San Juan question, was raised by the Northern politicians and settled by a Southern Administration.

I am sorry to contradict you, my friend, but “the truth of history” must be preserved, or what will become of all our reputations?

During the continuance of this war, too, the Southern Government and people have kept grimly silent about British neutrality, as preached and practised by Earl Russell; while our Northern brethren have howled and yelled like a pack of war wolves, and obtain many thousands of Irish recruits by the promise of making war on England when the little affair of “crushing the rebellion” had been happily concluded.

Nay, so strong is the force of habit, that even you cannot refrain from “bullying” a little yourself at the very close of this indignant contradiction.

“Is war really desired between the two countries, or is it supposed that we will yield to foreign intervention without a struggle? No, the North will rise as one man, and thousands even from the South will join them. The country will become a camp, and the ocean will swarm with our privateers.”

Then you grow pious:—

“The Almighty can never prosper such a war upon us.”

And then you threaten to “whip Creation,” France included:—

“If the views of a foreign Power have been truly represented in Parliament, and such an aggression upon us is contemplated, let him beware, for in such a contest, the political pyramid resting upon its apex, the power of one man is much more likely

“ to fall, than that which reposes on the broad basis  
“ of the will of the people.”

How can you be so indiscreet as to give confirmation to the very accusation you were trying to disprove? The “ Pogram defiance” pales before yours, and the slumbers of Napoleon will be troubled henceforth.

But you recover yourself when you get on the safe ground of slavery. *That* is a theme which always takes with the British public, although the great and shining lights of English emancipation—the Shaftesburys, and Broughams, and Buxtons—turn the cold shoulder on Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward’s philanthropic plans for not only abolishing Slavery *and* the Slave, *but the Master too*, in imitation of those ancient models of Rome,

“ Who made a solitude,  
And called it peace.”

If Mr. Chase in his late speech be right, that matter now is settled; and Europe must think so, for that extraordinary financier thus disposes of it, as he does of his greenbacks, by main strength—

“ *Either,*” he says, “ *the Proclamation was a great monstrous sham and an imposition in the face of the world, or else that Proclamation was an effectual thing, and there are no slaves to-day in the rebel States.*”

Still, it is good exercise to kick the corpse. What though Mr. Lincoln, in his first Message to Congress in March, 1861, declared :—

“ I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of Slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.”

And repeated it eighteen months afterwards—

“ I would save the Union : I would save it in the shortest way. If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there are those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in the struggle is to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or destroy slavery.”

And he then goes on to say that if slavery were abolished, the coloured population must leave the country.

What though he, in his Message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1862, acknowledged the right of “ property in man,” in these words—

“ The liberation of slaves is the *destruction of property*—property acquired by descent or purchase, the same as any other property. It is no less true for having been often said, that the people of the South are no more responsible for the original introduction of this property than the people of the North ; and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we use—*all of us use*—cotton and sugar, and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say *that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance.*”

Did not our facetious President, much amused by the proposal made him by a deputation of Abolitionists,

that he should decree emancipation to all the slaves, humorously compare it to the "Pope's Bull against the Comet?"

What though Mr. Seward, in his despatch to Mr. Adams in February, 1862, denounced the *British* idea of the Government emancipating the slaves, as inhuman even to think of; using this strong language :

"Does France or does Great Britain want to see a  
*"Social Revolution, with all its horrors, like the Slave  
 Revolution in San Domingo?* Are these Powers  
 "sure that the country or the world is ripe for such  
 "a revolution, so that it must certainly be successful?  
 "What if, in inaugurating such a revolution, Slavery,  
 "protesting against its inhumanity and ferocity,  
 "should prove the victor!"

What of all this, I say? Was not the "Bull against the Comet" launched by Mr. Lincoln with all the happy effects he predicted?

Has not Mr. Seward sung his palinode, and been taken to the embraces of Brother Beecher? So you strike the right chord, when you put on the "Sable Stole" of Sam Slick's story, and snort over slavery thus:

"It is the Lords of the whip and the chain and the  
 "branding-iron who are our bullies; who insist upon  
 "forced labour, and repudiate all compensation to the  
 "toiling millions of slaves—who repudiate, among  
 "slaves, the marital and parental relation, and class  
 "them by law as chattels—who forbid emancipation—  
 "who make it a crime to teach slaves to read or write  
 "—ay, even the Bible—who keep open the interstate



“slave-trade—(more horrible than the African, making Virginia a human stock farm,) tearing husband from wife, and parents from children—founding a Government boldly announcing the doctrine of *property* in man, based avowedly on the divinity, extension, and perpetuity of slavery—these are our bullies, and when they are overthrown, we shall commence a new career of peaceful progress and advanced civilization.”

“Hit them again! they have no friends! huzza!”  
As our immortal poet, Hosea Biglow sings :

“ Call me Old Timber-toes,  
That’s what our people likes ;  
Something combining moral truths,  
With phrases sich as strikes.”

Fred Douglass, the representative “unbleached American” could not beat that flight of yours.

But, “*entre nous*,” will it stand sifting as to its facts? These pestilent “Secesh” over here have a way of giving proofs about that subject, which are very hard to get over, and unimaginative John Bull makes no allowance for flights of fancy. He calls them lies—an ugly name—and does not believe in the merits of the cause which needs such supports—stupid fellow that he is!

Even “*Historicus*,” that great Times’-server, who is robbing you of your laurels, and doing your work for you, both in the vituperative and the imaginative line, has just butted his head so hard against Mr. Laird’s new rams, as to have entirely disabled himself in public estimation ; and all because having exhausted all his law and

his facts, he had recourse to his fancy, and flatly contradicted last week what he himself wrote last month.

So I must tell you that after triumphantly reading your eloquent burst above quoted to one of these Secesh fellows, whom I met on the lakes, he took your statements to pieces in a way that surprised me ; and I consider it a friendly act to tell you what *he* said, which in substance was as follows :

“ Mrs. Stowe had some apology for what she wrote, Sir !

“ Firstly, she was a Yankee woman writing a sensation romance that would sell ; and secondly, she really knew very little of the subject she wrote about, and even she had the grace to make the villain of ‘ Uncle Tom,’ the Overseer Legree, a Yankee ! knowing no Southern-born man ever treated slaves so cruelly as the ‘ descendants of the Puritans’ habitually do when domiciled at the South.

“ But Robert J. Walker has not the same excuse, Sir. He lived for twenty years in Mississippi, in the midst of a Slave population, and like Jeshurun’s Ass, ‘ waxed fat and kicked’—and vindicated ‘ the institution’ with voice and pen, and showed the folly and cruelty of the Abolitionists who sought to interrupt the relation existing between master and slave.

“ Therefore let us see if he tells the truth, Sir, in his bill of indictment against the South.

“ Mr. Walker knows that ‘ the whip, the chain and the branding-iron,’ are mere figures of rhetoric—the first being used more rarely upon Slaves than upon British Soldiers and American Seamen—the second never except upon criminals white and black indifferently ; and the ‘ branding-iron’ being a pure invention of Sensation-mongers.

“ He knows, moreover, that the toiling millions  
 “ of slaves get better ‘compensation’ in food,  
 “ clothing, attendance (in old age and illness as  
 “ well as in health), than do the ‘toiling millions’ of  
 “ white men in Europe, who depend on daily labour  
 “ for daily bread—and *he has proved it* in his Texas  
 “ letter, written in 1844 at great length, and with great  
 “ detail.

“ As a lawyer, no one knows better the code of laws  
 “ which protect the slave in life and limb against any  
 “ cruelty from the master—that his rights under that  
 “ code are clearly set forth—and that public opinion,  
 “ stronger than any law—enforces that code under the  
 “ penalty of social degradation, as well as legal punish-  
 “ ment. He knows (unless he forgets his law as he  
 “ does his Latin) that they are not ‘classed as chattels,’  
 “ but as *persons*, by the laws of all the Southern States,  
 “ and that the white man who murders a black man  
 “ will be hung more surely than though he murdered  
 “ a white one.

“ Mr. Walker knows, or ought to know, that ac-  
 “ cording to the United States Census returns no less  
 “ than 20,000 slaves are recorded as having received  
 “ their freedom in the decade ending in 1860; there-  
 “ fore ‘emancipation’ was not ‘forbidden by the  
 “ entire South.’

“ He knows, or ought to know, the falsity of his  
 “ accusation, applied to the whole South,—‘who make  
 “ it a crime to write or read—ay, even the Bible;’  
 “ for it is safe to assert that many slaves in Mis-  
 “ sissippi, including his own, are, or were more  
 “ familiar with that book, ay, and follow its teach-  
 “ ings better, than the ‘honourable’ ex-senator him-  
 “ self.

“ He knows that Virginia never was ‘a human  
 “ stock-farm,’ and that the stale slander of ‘slave-

“ ‘breeding’ revived against that noble Mother of  
 “ Washington, is utterly without foundation ; as the  
 “ census proves that the increase in the slave popula-  
 “ tion is only 1 per cent. per annum, while in the  
 “ Gulf States, where the climate is more congenial to  
 “ the African race, the increase is 3 per cent. per  
 “ annum, and the demand for labour in Virginia  
 “ always has been greater than the supply.

“ He knows, or ought to know, that ‘tearing hus-  
 “ band from wife—parent from child,’ is forbidden  
 “ by the laws of some, and frowned down by the public  
 “ feeling of all the States, except where such division  
 “ is desired by the parties themselves—and how many  
 “ white families are there, all of whose members live  
 “ together after attaining puberty !

“ He knows there is no such thing as the ‘inter-  
 “ state Slave trade’ (more horrible than the African)  
 “ which exists only in his vivid imagination. For in  
 “ all the Southern States there are laws prohibiting  
 “ the introduction of negroes from other States, unac-  
 “ companied by their masters ; and so far from there  
 “ being the necessity existing, one of the great appre-  
 “ hensions of timid slaveholders, like Mr. Walker, was  
 “ that the natural increase of blacks was so great as to  
 “ render the acquisition of Texas necessary as an out-  
 “ let for the superabundant population. And it is a  
 “ striking proof of the different treatment the black  
 “ race have received in the Southern States and in  
 “ other countries, that they have increased from  
 “ 700,000 in 1790, to near 4,000,000 in 1860.

“ ‘The whip, the chain, and the branding-iron,’  
 “ could not have been very severely employed to  
 “ produce this result.

“ And finally, Sir, neither loss of memory nor  
 “ want of information can excuse Robert J. Walker  
 “ for accusing the seceders of founding a Government

“ boldly announcing the right of property in man,  
 “ based professedly on the divinity, extension, and  
 “ perpetuity of slavery.

“ For President Lincoln himself has asserted that  
 “ he found that right existing under the Union which  
 “ he desired to perpetuate; and has only decreed the  
 “ abolition of slavery as a punishment for ‘ disloyalty,’  
 “ the slaves in the ‘ loyal’ States never having been  
 “ freed by him, even by a ‘ Pope’s Bull.’

“ And no one can doubt that, from the beginning  
 “ of this war up to the present moment, the Black  
 “ Republican party would cheerfully give the seceding  
 “ States of the Southern Confederacy almost any ad-  
 “ ditional guarantees for the perpetuity and protection  
 “ of slavery, if they only would consent to come back  
 “ into that ‘ glorious Union,’ which gave the North,  
 “ with its numerical majority, such ‘ glorious’ oppor-  
 “ tunities of plundering the South, under the forms  
 “ of legislation. As to the Southern Confederacy  
 “ being founded on slavery, because that form of  
 “ labour exists there, as it has existed always, before  
 “ and since the Union, it is an absurdity which needs  
 “ no contradiction. One significant fact in relation to  
 “ this subject Mr. Walker prudently does not allude  
 “ to, viz., that as the Southern States were the first  
 “ to insist upon the abolition of the slave-trade, and  
 “ forced that law down in spite of the opposition of  
 “ the Northern States, which, to this day, carry it on  
 “ through their enterprising captains and shipowners,  
 “ from Boston and other Northern ports; so in  
 “ the Constitution of the Confederate States there  
 “ is a *special prohibition* of the slave-trade *by name*,  
 “ making it penal; while the old Constitution,  
 “ which the North have adhered to, contains *no such*  
 “ *provision*. So much, Sir, for Mr. Walker’s truth-  
 “ fulness in his tirade against us.”

These are the arguments of my "secesh" acquaintance, and as he looked something like a volcano in breeches, I thought it most convenient not to contradict him. Can you, Robert? or are those uncomfortable facts of his susceptible of proof? If so, "the least said the soonest mended."

You may think it unkind of me to tell these things to you; but if one's particular friends do not repeat disagreeable remarks, who will take the trouble to do so? Besides, after all you have gone through, your cuticle must be as tough as the hide of an alligator.

But really, this letter of mine is growing as lengthy (though I hope not so prosy) as one of Mr. Seward's "ninety-day" notes to the Ministers abroad—or one of *Historicus'* Penelope-webs. So I must come to my "seventhly and lastly."

I find this all the more easy in consequence of two things. 1st. Because on perusing your Letter, No. II., on "JEFFERSON DAVIS, REPUDIATION, SECESSION, &c." I discover that it is only a re-hash of your Letter, No. I. And 2ndly, Mr. Chase has just fully explained the secret of his financial policy in two paragraphs of his late speech at Indianapolis.

Your pamphlet, No. III., entitled, "AMERICAN FINANCES AND RESOURCES," and professing to answer "the question so often asked me (Walker) here and on the continent"—How has your Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Chase) so marvellously sustained

American credit during this rebellion, and when will your finances collapse?" has been superseded by the utterances of that "marvellous" man himself.

It is unsatisfactory to observe, however, that neither Mr. Chase nor yourself touch on the last, and, to European eyes, the most important clause of the interrogatory, propounded by those "doubting Thomases" abroad, viz. :

"AND WHEN WILL YOUR FINANCES COLLAPSE?"

You both observe a discreet reserve on this delicate if not improper question.

But I must be permitted to say that neither your "Letter on American Credit," nor Mr. Chase's remarks on the same, will tend to increase your stock of that article in Europe. For they remember the great experiment made in Finance years ago, known as "Law's bubble," which was more gaudy in colour, and more grand in its proportions, than Mr. Chase's, and with which these narrow-minded business men will compare it.

The confiding Chase has thus promulgated his panacea to his constituents on the 12th inst., while making stump speeches in the West, thus reported by telegraph :

"Mr. Chase continues his tour in the West. In a speech at Indianapolis, Indiana, he recounted his experience as Secretary of the Treasury. He stated that his whole financial scheme was a uniform currency, and the establishment of national banks seemed to him, as it must have done to the people

“ from the outset, to be the only true and successful  
 “ method of providing the whole system, as plain as  
 “ the alphabet, and that common sense and courage  
 “ were its Alpha and Omega.”

But the telegraph adds an additional item, which explains another feature of Mr. Chase's financiering, which he did not think it worth while to explain :

“ POSTSCRIPT.—Mr. Chase's brokers have been  
 “ operating in the market this morning to bring  
 “ down the premium on gold. There has been a  
 “ fall of 4 per cent. since yesterday afternoon ; at  
 “ half-past one it stood at 48 ; within the last half  
 “ hour there has been a reaction, and it has recovered  
 “ to 49½.”

The London *Times*, indignant that we can be rich without British gold, ridicules our great man in an editorial which will amuse him.

“ Let ordinary mortals toil and slave, let Old World financiers rack their brains for fresh taxes, fresh loans, or further economies ; Mr. CHASE has found the philosopher's stone—he has got an uniform, permanent, and substantial currency, which costs nothing and pays for everything, and he need trouble his head with none of these Old World embarrassments.

“ We had certainly thought that there was nothing new in all this ; we had thought that the art of issuing inconvertible paper, and declaring it a legal tender, had come into existence a little before the art of declaring national bankruptcies—nay, we had even gone so far as to speculate on some occult connection between the two. We now learn that we were mistaken, and Mr. CHASE is good enough to give us a popular explanation of the steps which have led him to a discovery destined to relieve mankind from the primitive curse, and to make them rich without inflicting on them the slightest trouble or anxiety. The first thing that struck Mr. CHASE was a declaration of our own, that no money would be advanced in this country to the Northern States by English capitalists. Reasoning deeply on this announcement, he came to the conclusion that as we would not lend he would not borrow from us ; at any rate, till we came to ask him to do so—a qualification which we venture to think



does not much diminish the absolute nature of the proposition. Having established this point of departure, this ingenious man began by borrowing all the gold he could get in his own country and paying it away for war expenses. In the course of this process his mind was struck by the remarkable fact that the gold did not come back to him as fast as he paid it away—an observation which we apprehend has been already made by every person who has entered upon a large expenditure of borrowed money and has not credit to borrow any more. This was exactly the state in which Mr. CHASE found himself. Capitalists became exorbitant in their demands, and Mr. CHASE came to the conclusion that instead of borrowing other people's notes he had better issue his own. As this was, however, only another form of borrowing, and as he had, as he tells us, previously exhausted his credit, people who were not willing to become creditors of the Government, which was the case with many bankers, were unwilling to receive these notes in payment. Then the beautiful idea suggested itself to the mind of Mr. CHASE of compelling them to take them in payment—that is, of making them legal tender. That, he triumphantly says, was the next step. You would have done exactly, he says, as he did. It is an affair of common sense and courage. No doubt any debtor whose credit is exhausted, whose bills nobody will take except at a ruinous discount, would, if he could, make them a legal tender. Mr. CHASE could, and did, and therein lies his unapproachable superiority over the private debtor, who, when he cannot pay, has no resource but an ignominious declaration of insolvency."

People over here, in Scotland, shake their heads over Mr. Chase's explanation, and say, "Why, there is 'nothing new in all this. It is only John Law's 'scheme over again, and destined to a more speedy 'collapse, for Law's paper never was depreciated 'until his bubble broke." But these sagacious Scotchmen (comparing dates) find that on the very day (12th Oct.) Mr. Chase boasted of his success, exchange on England in New York was one hundred and seventy one, and gold at  $156\frac{1}{2}$ , showing a depreciation to that extent in the value of Mr. Chase's "green 'back " offsprings.

Dunshunner tells me this state of things is so encouraging to debtors, that he thinks seriously of returning home, and indulging in the unusual luxury of paying his old debts. He can now do it so cheaply. May this delightful state of the currency and of exchange not be bad, however, for the creditors? It has struck me it possibly might be. And you know he will have his joke, even at a friend's expense; the rogue says that you are a great manager as well as Mr. Chase, for, figuratively speaking, you owe the people of Mississippi a great deal, and it certainly is a new version of

“A NEW WAY TO PAY OLD DEBTS,”

which you have been bringing out lately on the British boards, for their benefit.

And apropos to finance and financiers, I find your short letter, No. 2, like the scorpion, has a sting in the tail. For in the twelfth and last page, you wind up thus:—

“And what is to be thought of the ‘*faith*’ of a  
 “so-called Government, which has chosen this repudiator as their chief, and what of the value of the  
 “Confederate bonds now issued by him? Why, the  
 “legal tender notes of the so-called Confederate Government, fundable in a stock bearing eight per cent.  
 “interest, is now worth in gold at their own capital  
 “of Richmond, less than ten cents on the dollar (2s.  
 “on the £), whilst in two-thirds of their territory  
 “such notes are utterly worthless; and it is TREASON  
 “for any citizen of the United States, North or

"South, or any ALIEN resident there, to deal in them,  
 "or in Confederate bonds, or in the cotton pledged  
 "for their payment. No form of Confederate bonds,  
 "or notes, or stock, will ever be recognised by the  
 "Government of the United States, and the cotton  
 "pledged by slaveholding traitors for the payment of  
 "the Confederate bonds is all forfeited for treason, and  
 "confiscated to the Federal Government by Act of  
 "Congress. As our armies advance, this cotton is  
 "either burned by the retreating rebel troops, or seized  
 "by our forces, and shipped and sold from time to time,  
 "for the benefit of the Federal Government. By  
 "reference to the census of 1860, it will be seen, that  
 "three-fourths of the whole cotton crop was raised in  
 "States (now held by the Federal army and navy),  
 "touching the Mississippi and its tributaries, and all the  
 "other ports, are either actually held or blockaded by  
 "the Federal forces. The traitor pledge of this cotton  
 "is, then, wholly unavailing; the bonds are utterly  
 "worthless."

When I read this statement of yours, it made me  
 feel happy, and I went straight over to my Secesh  
 acquaintance, who was smoking one of the biggest  
 and strongest cigars I ever saw, on the portico of the  
 hotel.

"What do you say to that?" said I. "Isn't it a  
 "facer?"

"Old gentleman," was the reply, "there's not a  
 "single statement in it worth this tobacco ash on the  
 "end of my cigar, and I'll prove it. Excuse me a  
 "moment, until I get my papers out of my trunk."

When he came down he had a bundle of old news-  
 papers, and read and talked to me an hour at least.

As I did before, I will again give you the substance of what he said.

“Robert J. Walker, Sir, has been boasting a good deal lately, I hear, as to the effect his letters and conversations have had in depressing Confederate credit. But except his friend Bright, who has quoted him, it is supposed where he alludes to information given him by ‘a gentleman from Mississippi, well acquainted with the facts of the case,’ no one has noticed him or his letters.

“They, of course, are congenial spirits ; but if anybody else has quoted or been influenced by Mr. Walker, nobody has found it out. The old fable of the ‘fly on the ox’s horn,’ applies to Mr. Walker, and the bull does move on in spite of the fly still sitting there. I suppose it never occurred to Mr. Walker that such insignificant events as the surrender of Vicksburg, the repulse of General Lee from Pennsylvania, and the siege of Charleston, could have produced any effect, comparable to his ‘Letters,’ which appeared simultaneously with those trifling circumstances. As the stock is going up again, he had better publish some more letters.

“But how as to his statements which you show me ?

“Even if Jeff. Davis were a repudiator (which he is not, and never has been, in any sense of the term), he having personally been in favour of paying the debt by private subscription of the property holders in Mississippi, what has that to do with the Confederate Loan ? With that loan Jeff. Davis has no more to do than Robert J. Walker. It was negotiated by the Secretary of the Treasury, under authority of an Act of the Congress ; and as to the

“ ‘faith’ of that Government, and of that people, nobody doubts it: not even Robert J. Walker.

“ Why, even if the character of the men of the second revolution were different, common sense and policy would teach them the necessity of acting fairly by their creditors, in this their first loan made abroad; for after the war they will have such extensive transactions direct with Europe, as to render mutual confidence essential.

“ Mr. Walker’s valuation of the Confederate notes of the 8 per cent. stock at Richmond, is a pure fiction. They are at a premium there, and even *abroad* sales have been effected in them (previous to the Vicksburg panic) at from 65 to 75 cents in the dollar.

“ But the security, is that good?

“ The following letter from Mr. M’Rae, Confederate agent for the Loan in Europe, will show. Responding to the question of an anxious holder, just after the panic, Mr. M’Rae wrote as follows—and he told the truth:—

TIMES, 6th AUGUST, 1863.

*Burlington Hotel, Cork Street, Aug. 5th.*

SIR,—In reply to the enquiries contained in your note of this morning, I have to say, that on the 1st of March last the Government of the Confederate States had purchased about 320,000 bales of cotton. The purchasing was still going on; and it is fair to presume that by this time the quantity has been increased to at least 500,000 bales.

This cotton is principally in the States of Georgia, Alabama, North-western Louisiana, and Texas, and is stored in the plantations of the planters, from whom it was purchased, in sheds or warehouses 300 feet from any other buildings, and in all cases the planters have agreed with the Government to take the same care of the cotton as if it still belonged to them, and to deliver it to the order of the Government when wanted. The capture of all our seaports would not endanger the loss of a single pound of cotton, as there are no stocks of cotton at any of them, nor

are there any considerable stocks of cotton at any one place in the interior, care having been taken by the Confederates, as well as the State-Government, that no cotton should be stored at any point within five miles of a railroad-station or navigable stream. That portion of the crop of 1861 which had been brought to the various interior depôts has long since been taken back to the plantations, by special order of the State Governments.

The cotton will be delivered to any holder of the bonds on demand, as provided for in the 4th article of the contract. In the States of Alabama and Mississippi, where I have personal knowledge of the manner in which the business has been transacted, the cotton has been sampled weighed, marked, and invoiced, and the agents of the bond-holders can examine the samples at the offices of the chief agents of the Loan in the different States, and take their orders on the planters for the delivery of the cotton, without trouble or expense. The cotton obtained under this Loan will not be subject to any tax or duty, except the export-duty of one-eighth of a cent per lb. existing at the date of the contract.

I am, Sir, &c.,

C. J. McRAE, Agent for the Loan.

Mr. H. W. Schwartz.

“ In confirmation of the capacity of the Confederate  
 “ Government to get this cotton, in spite of the sham  
 “ blockade and sham occupation of the cotton region  
 “ (*‘now occupied by our army and navy’*), it is only  
 “ necessary to look at the weekly receipts of Southern  
 “ cotton from Southern ports at Liverpool, chiefly  
 “ Confederate-Government cotton, lately coming at the  
 “ rate of 4,000 bales per week ; and thence to glance at  
 “ the returns of cotton actually existing in the South,  
 “ made by the British Blue-book from reports of the  
 “ British Consuls in Confederate ports.

“ Mr. McHenry, in that book on ‘ The Cotton  
 “ ‘ Trade,’ of which I suppose he has sent you a  
 “ copy, gives the following estimate of the quantity  
 “ of cotton in the Confederate States on September 1,  
 “ 1863 :—

“ Crop of 1860 remaining over on September 1, 1861.

	Bales.
“ At the Ports, including 300 bales new crop . . . . .	37,574
“ In the interior towns . . . . .	6,200
“ On the plantations . . . . .	25,000
	Bales.
“ Crops of 1861 . . . . .	3,500,000
„ 1862 . . . . .	1,000,000
„ 1863 . . . . .	800,000
	<hr/> 5,300,000
	<hr/> 5,368,774
“ Destroyed and damaged, equal to . . . . .	1,350,000
“ Exported, eluded the blockade, and taken by the Yankees . . . . .	150,000
“ Consumed . . . . .	1,500,000
	<hr/> 3,000,000
	<hr/>

“ Estimated stock in the Confederacy on  
September 1, 1863 . . . . . 2,368,774

“ When the present price of cotton (30d. per lb.) is  
“ considered, one would think this security fully suffi-  
“ cient to cover a debt to Europe of three millions  
“ sterling !!! And that the foreign debt will be first  
“ paid, the recent reported embargo against the ex-  
“ portation of any cotton, except in payment of the  
“ loan, very clearly shows.

“ Our armies” (Mr. Walker’s) have not ‘advanced  
“ much into the cotton region’ lately ; and the present  
“ price of cotton at New York (90 cents) shows how

“ much cotton the North can control ;—and that the  
 “ pledge of cotton,” so far from being ‘ worthless,’  
 “ is perfectly good in the eyes of everybody, except the  
 “ Bright-Cobden people, who wont see, because they  
 “ shut their eyes obstinately against the light.

“ But it is too absurd for Mr. Walker, in view of  
 “ the actual attitude of North and South, to talk  
 “ about Southern ‘ traitors’ cotton being all confiscated  
 “ and forfeited for the uses of ‘ what were once the  
 “ ‘ United States of America,’ according to Earl  
 “ Russell.”

That is what Secesh said about it.

But this letter is growing like Jack’s bean-stalk, so let us be serious at parting. You probably know there is a very able paper published in London, called the *Saturday Review*. Well, the irreverent editor of that journal, in reviewing Brother Beecher’s sensation-lecture at Exeter Hall, thus prefaces his criticism :—

“ As the first year of the American civil war is to the third, so is Bishop M’ILVAINE to Mr. HENRY BEECHER. The clerical emissaries who have been sent to advocate the Northern cause in England have deteriorated. The Evangelical Bishop’s mission was, at the worst, but a silent failure; it simply collapsed from inanity. But the blazing preacher’s lectures, though equally failing to address the English mind by argument, while they surpass in vulgarity and impudence the bishop’s milk-and-water apologies, perhaps more faithfully reflect the present aspect of the contest. The war has become more bloody, more embittered, more wicked, and Mr. BEECHER is quite worthy of the latter stage of his cause.”

As your friend, it is my duty to let you know that people say the remark applies as forcibly to the lay as to the clerical missionaries of our Government; and that, as Henry Ward Beecher is to Bishop M’Ilvaine,



so is Robert J. Walker to Thurlow Weed—"more embittered, more wicked," and much more unscrupulous, as well as much more tedious.

And these impudent fellows (doubtless bought by Confederate gold out of the flowing coffers of Jeff. Davis) go on to say that, as in that hideous dance of devils, the first Reign of Terror, when "Fraternity or Death" were the watchwords in the Old as they now are in the New world, honest and scrupulous men were driven like sheep to the prison or the guillotine, and creatures like Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, typified by Seward, Chase, and Sumner, then as now crawled up to the high places, and lorded it over the mad multitude.

And they further add, that, to denounce and defame better men than themselves, they found tools like *Barrère*, thus described by Lord Macaulay :—

"We turn with disgust from the filthy and spiteful  
 "Yahoos of the fiction; and the filthiest and most  
 "spiteful Yahoo of the fiction was a noble creature  
 "when compared with the *Barrère* of history. It is  
 "no light thing that a man in high and honourable  
 "public trust—a man who, from his connexions and  
 "position, may *be supposed to speak the sentiments of*  
 "*a large class of his countrymen*, should come forward  
 "to demand approbation for a life (a CAUSE) black  
 "with every sort of wickedness, and unredeemed by  
 "a single virtue."

For *Barrère* spent the last remnant of his long life in the service of his old enemies, sedulously employed

in blackening and perverting the characters and the acts of his former friends, and all the principles and the men to whom in his earlier and better days he had owed his fortune and position. How unenviable the elevation to a pedestal beside such a figure as this in the Pantheon of history!—and how happy should we be, that our Republican rule is so pure and so elevated in its men and in its measures, as to produce no YAHOO either in the Presidential chair, nor in its foreign service.

And here I must leave you for the present, in the hope that your reward may be adequate to your deserts.

Yours, fraternally,

JONATHAN SLINGSBY,  
OF SCREAMERSVILLE.

P.S.—My Secesh has just handed me some old speeches of Jeff. Davis to read. From one of these I take this extract, which will show how mean-spirited he always was, and how safely you can continue to abuse him:—

“ For the wretch who is doomed to go through the  
“ world bearing a personal jealousy, or a personal  
“ malignity, which renders him incapable of doing  
“ justice, and studious of misrepresentation, I can  
“ only feel pity ; and, were it possible to feel revenge-  
“ ful, could consign him to no worse punishment  
“ than that of his own tormentors—the vipers nursed  
“ in his own breast.”—*Speech of Jefferson Davis at  
Jackson, Mississippi, 11th November, 1858.*

[THE END.]

LONDON :  
SAVILL AND EDWARDS, PRINTERS, CHANDOS STREET,  
COVENT GARDEN.







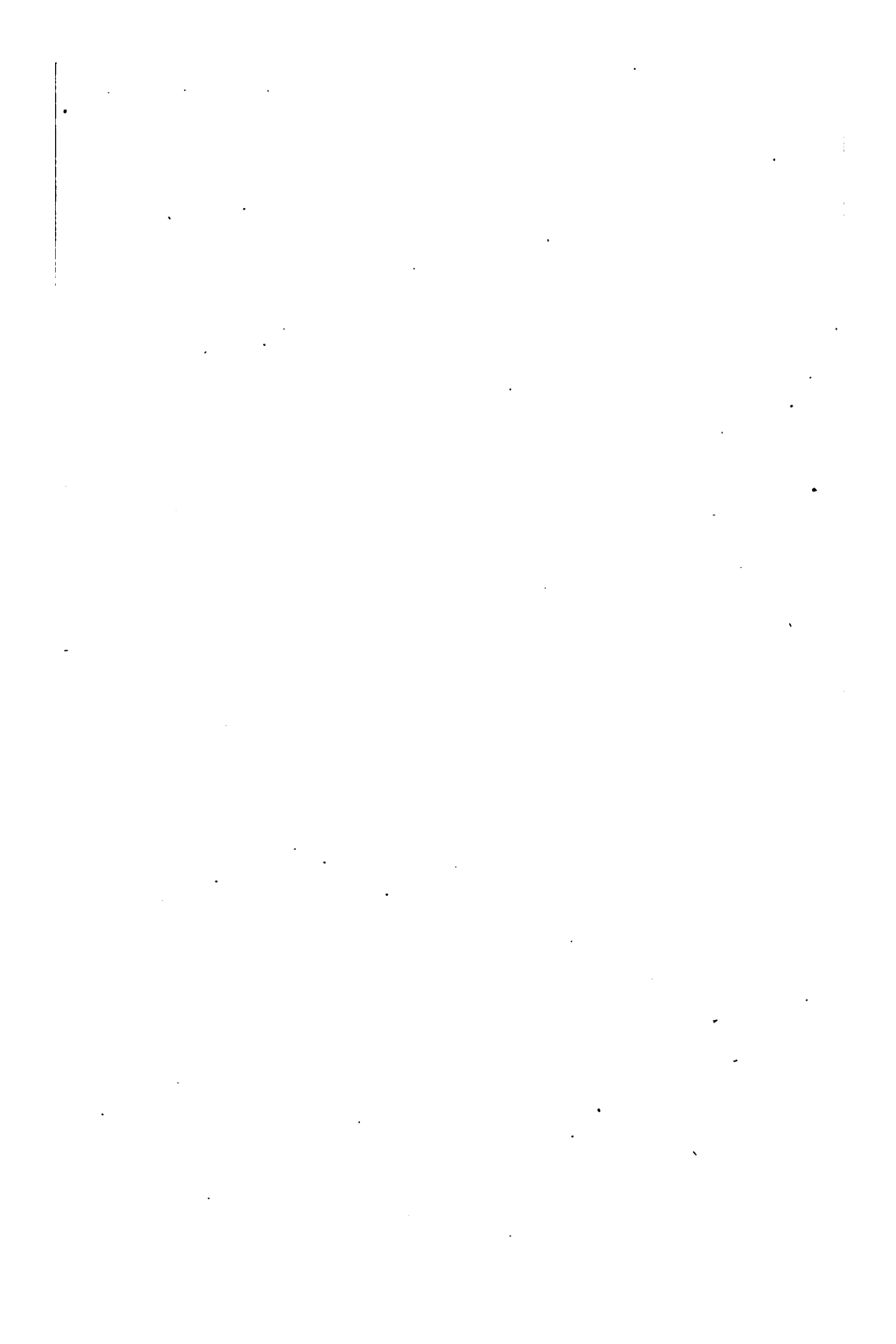












OCT 18 1895

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A familiar epistle to Robert J. Wal  
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